

# CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS

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II. *Medicina Plinii*

## FORTUNA\*

Gaius Plinius Secundus (ca. 23–79 A.D.), born at Comum (the modern Como) into a wealthy equestrian family, became the most important Roman author on natural science even though he devoted his life first to an active military career in Germany and the Eastern Mediterranean and later to administrative service to the Emperors Vespasian and Titus. Only during the decade following his retirement from the army in 57 or 58 was there any hiatus in his public career that would have permitted full-time devotion to scientific and literary studies; and even during this decade of retirement (which may have been due to a lack of favor at the court of Nero), he may have been engaged in the practice of law, since his nephew and adopted son Pliny the Younger claimed (*Ep.* 3.5) that his uncle did practice that profession. The younger Pliny also describes how even during his many years of public service, the uncle spent every free moment engaged in study; and his letter to his friend the historian Tacitus (*Ep.* 6.16) describes his uncle's death during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius on 24

August 79 A.D., when a combination of scientific curiosity and a sense of duty as commander of the Roman fleet in that area caused him to go ashore near Stabiae, where he lost his life.

The elder Pliny's only surviving work is his extensive *Naturalis historia* (*Natural History*), in thirty-seven books, of which the first book consists only of a dedicatory epistle to the future emperor Titus and an outline of the contents of each of the following books, with a list of Latin and foreign (mostly Greek) sources for each book. Pliny the Younger in his letter to Babius Macer (*Ep.* 3.5) provides a list of other works which are now lost: *De iaculatione equestri*, a work on cavalry tactics; *De vita Pomponii Secundi*, in two books, a biography of a friend and patron; *Bella Germaniae*, in twenty books, a history of all Roman wars against the Germans down to perhaps 47 A.D., used by Tacitus as a source for his own *Germania* and *Annales*; *Studiosi*, in three books, a work on oratory; *Dubius Sermo*, in eight books, a grammatical work, completed in 67 A.D.; and *A fine Aufidii Bassi*, in thirty-one books, a continuation of the lost Roman history of Aufidius Bassus, written between 71 and 77 A.D. The *Naturalis historia* was dedicated to Titus in 77 A.D., but was published posthumously. It was the result of a lifetime spent collecting information through personal observation and reading.

The history of scholarship on *Naturalis historia* from the time of the author's death in 79 A.D. to the year 1600 is of particular value because it involves an author who never had to be "rediscovered" since he was never lost. There is evidence for at least some knowledge of Pliny during virtually every century from his own time down to the present. What this article describes and documents, therefore, is not the recovery of a missing part of the classical heritage, but rather the changing approaches to a major author taken at different periods of his long literary history. The special importance of Pliny is that he offered the medieval and Renaissance world its most comprehensive view of Roman natural

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science and also of later Greek science as viewed by the Romans. His work not only drew upon a large body of earlier Greek and Roman scientific writing but did so explicitly and in great detail. Book I of *Naturalis historia* is Pliny's own catalogue of his sources for each of the thirty-six other books. The comprehensiveness of the work is both its virtue and its defect. Its author tried at one and the same time to include all topics and all authorities, and yet to distinguish between what he knew from personal experience and what he knew only on the basis of what other writers said. The work offered at least some information, and often the best information available, on almost any topic that an ancient, medieval, or Renaissance student of nature might want to know. It was, in fact, the great authority which all writers on natural history made the foundation of their own works;<sup>1</sup> and this situation had barely begun to change even as late as 1600. On the other hand, the scope of Pliny's undertaking inevitably meant that at times he lapsed into an uncritical acceptance of what his sources reported, and also that the work contained internal inconsistencies.

#### 1. ANTIQUITY.

The merits of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, in terms of its breadth of scope, the industriousness of its author in collecting material, and the added authority of the vast number of earlier writers on whom he explicitly drew, ensured its success from the very beginning. Aulus Gellius in the second century was the first surviving author to make an excerpt from Pliny, followed by Apuleius (second

century) and Tertullian (ca. 160-ca. 240).<sup>2</sup> The only serious defect which ancient scholars found in the book was a consequence of one of its principal virtues: it was exceedingly long. Hence to make a complete copy (especially on the inefficient papyrus rolls used for books in the classical period)<sup>3</sup> was a laborious and costly task. Because *Naturalis historia* is organized topically, readers and copyists alike could and did concentrate only on those portions of the book which suited their individual interests, focusing on the geographical or botanical or mineralogical or other parts and ignoring the rest. This tendency to make excerpts of only certain portions, which became very common in the Middle Ages, was already evident in the pseudo-Plinian *Medicina Plinii*, probably produced in the third century, a work taken partly from the medical portions of Pliny and partly from other sources.<sup>4</sup> This derivative work is attributed, in part at least, to Gargilius Martialis (third century); and part of it may also be by Marcellus Empiricus (fifth century), who first cited it. Marcellus also shows knowledge of the original Pliny. The undated and pseudonymous *Herbarius Apulei Platonici* also uses both the derivative *Medicina Plinii* and the original work. Another third-century compilation based directly or indirectly on Pliny (and on Pomponius Mela) is Caius Julius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, written soon after 200 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

In the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus knew both the real Pliny and the com-

1. E. W. Gudger, "Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, the Most Popular Natural History Ever Published," *Isis*, 6 (1924), 269-281; Julius Sillig, "Über das Ansehen der Naturgeschichte des Plinius im Mittelalter," *Allgemeine Schulzeitung*, 9, Nr. 52-53 (1833), 409-420; Marjorie Chibnall, "Pliny's *Natural History* and the Middle Ages," in T. A. Dorey, ed., *Empire and Aftermath: Silver Latin II* (London, 1975), pp. 57-78.

2. Wilhelm Kroll, "Caius Plinius Secundus," *PW XXI*,1(1951), 430.

3. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1974), pp. 2, 30-31.

4. Kroll, *PW XXI*,1, 430-431. See also the literature on *Medicina Plinii* cited below, under Spurious Work.

5. Kroll, *PW XXI*,1, 430-431; Donald J. Campbell, ed., *C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae liber secundus* (Aberdeen, 1936), p. 93.

pilation of Solinus. Also in that century, Symmachus sent a copy of Pliny to Ausonius, accompanied by a letter that suggests that by that time, complete copies of *Naturalis historia* were rare. Symmachus' own writings show familiarity with Pliny.<sup>6</sup> Citations of Pliny in Macrobius (late fourth, early fifth century) seem to be at second hand; but in the fifth century, the pharmaceutical author Sextus Placitus used the books on remedies derived from animals. Martianus Capella (early fifth century) appears to have drawn the geographical materials for the sixth book of *De nuptiis* directly from Pliny as well as from Solinus. The same is true of a number of other authors who stand at the threshold between ancient and medieval times, such as St. Augustine.<sup>7</sup> Although citation of an earlier author by an ancient or medieval writer is no proof of direct knowledge, the mention of Pliny by Sidonius Apollinaris and by important patristic authors like Eusebius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine is evidence that his reputation (and perhaps also his book) was still known.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. THE MIDDLE AGES

The difficulty of maintaining direct knowledge of long and difficult classical texts, already evident under the later Empire, became acute during the social and institutional upheavals that accompanied the collapse of Roman rule in Western Europe. Yet despite the length of Pliny's book, despite also the temptation to rely on the shorter and simpler derivatives produced in late Antiquity (such as Solinus), direct knowledge of *Naturalis historia* continued and can still be traced, both in the works of individual authors and in the surviving manuscripts (and catalogs of manuscripts) through the medieval centuries.

Pliny's influence can be traced in several

important early medieval writers. The first author of clearly post-classical times to use Pliny as a source for natural history was the Byzantine Johannes Laurentius Lydus (sixth century), who incorporated large portions of Pliny's work (perhaps at second hand) into his work on heavenly portents.<sup>9</sup> Far more important was Isidore of Seville (ca. 570–636), who used Pliny as a source for *De natura rerum* and *Etymologiae*, though perhaps at second hand from Paulus Orosius and Solinus.<sup>10</sup> Early medieval France seems to have lacked manuscripts of Pliny, even as late as the time of Charlemagne and Alcuin. Anglo-Saxon England, however, seems to have been unusually well supplied with texts of Pliny; and as early a figure as Aldhelm (ca. 639–709) shows knowledge of *Naturalis historia*.<sup>11</sup> More important still was the greatest figure of early Anglo-Saxon learning, the Venerable Bede (673–735). His *De natura rerum* is largely derived from Isidore's book of the same title; but in other works on natural history, such as *De temporibus* and especially *De temporum ratione*, he depended more frequently on classical sources. Although some of his uses of Pliny are demonstrably at second hand, he himself says that he made excerpts for his own use; and his citations from Book II show that he had access to a manuscript that contained the entire text of at least that part of Pliny. Indeed, he often quotes whole chapters from

9. *Ibid.*; Kroll, PW XXI,1, 430–431, thinks that Lydus' knowledge of Pliny is only indirect.

10. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (3 vols.; Munich, 1911–1931), I, 63–64; Chibnall, p. 61, insists that Isidore had little if any direct knowledge of Pliny.

11. Karl Welzhofer, "Beda's Zitate aus der *naturalis historia* des Plinius," in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft, Wilhelm von Christ zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von seinen Schülern* (Munich, 1891), pp. 25–41; J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to Anglo-Latin Writers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), p. 73; Reynolds and Wilson, p. 79; Chibnall, pp. 61–63.

6. For all the above, Kroll, PW XXI,1, 430–431.

7. Kroll, PW XXI,1, 430–431, and Campbell, *Plinii liber secundus*, pp. 93–94.

8. Sillig, "Ansehen," pp. 409–420.

Book II.<sup>12</sup> There is independent evidence for the existence of a Pliny manuscript of excellent textual quality at Bede's monastery of Wearmouth, perhaps from as early as 678.<sup>13</sup> In the ninth century, Pliny was mentioned (almost certainly at second hand, however) by Hrabanus Maurus on the Continent; and in the same century, the Irish monk Dicuil drew from Pliny much of his *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* (825).<sup>14</sup> The anonymous tenth-century medical poet *Macer Floridus* used Pliny and Dioscorides as his chief sources and cited the former twenty times.<sup>15</sup>

This picture of the repeated use of Pliny as a principal source for works on natural science, both directly and at second hand, is confirmed by detailed study of the medieval manuscript tradition. Preservation of such a long text in its entirety was difficult in an age of manuscripts; and while the evidence of both library catalogs and surviving manuscripts shows that Pliny was not a rare author, probably most manuscripts covered only a part of the text.<sup>16</sup> A large body of modern scholarship has traced the presence of at least partial manuscripts at various dates and places: e.g., York in the eighth century (mentioned by Alcuin), Reichenau in the ninth century, Bobbio in the tenth, and Lorsch in the eleventh—and with increasing frequency thereafter.<sup>17</sup>

12. Campbell, *Plinii liber secundus*, p. 94. Professor P. O. Kristeller has called to my attention Huntington Library ms. HM 1345, fol. 40<sup>v</sup> sqq, excerpts by Bede from Pliny.

13. Welzhofer, "Beda's Zitate," pp. 25–41; cf. Kroll, PW XXI,1, 431–434.

14. Sillig, "Ansehen," pp. 409–420; Kroll, PW XXI,1, 431–434; Campbell, *Plinii liber secundus*, pp. 93–94.

15. Sillig, "Ansehen," pp. 409–420.

16. This is the case for Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 488, the Codex Riccardianus of Pliny. Kroll, PW XXI,1, 431–434, dates it twelfth century, but Jan's edition of Pliny, I, vii, ascribes it to the eleventh century. The on-site catalog of the Riccardiana dates it tenth century.

17. Max Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte

In addition to manuscripts containing all of Pliny's work or several of its books, the Middle Ages produced many manuscripts of excerpts. These excerpts have been intensively studied by modern editors of Pliny, since they frequently represent excellent manuscript traditions not found in any surviving manuscript of the work itself. Of particular importance are the excerpts in an astronomical work first written in the eighth century and surviving in two important ninth-century copies,<sup>18</sup> and the excerpts made by the English monk Robert of Cricklade in the twelfth century.<sup>19</sup>

The importance of Pliny as an authority for medieval writers on natural history, and the degree to which his works were available (at least in partial copies and in substantial excerpts), is demonstrated by the large number of manuscripts still surviving today: two hundred is the commonly accepted number, and that figure may be too low.<sup>20</sup>

der römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter, XI. Plinius der Aeltere," *Philologus*, 49 (1890), 380–384; J. S. Beddie, "The Ancient Classics in the Mediaeval Libraries," *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 14–15; Max Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen (bis 1300)," *Rheinisches Museum*, Bd. 47: *Ergänzungsheft* (1892), pp. 59–60.

18. Karl Rück, *Auszüge aus der Naturgeschichte des C. Plinius Secundus in einem astronomisch-komputistischen Sammelwerke des achten Jahrhunderts* (Programm des Königlichen Ludwigs-Gymnasiums für das Studienjahr 1887/88; Munich, 1888); Vernon H. King, "An Investigation of Some Astronomical Excerpts from Pliny's Natural History Found in Manuscripts of the Earlier Middle Ages," typescript B. Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1969.

19. Kroll, PW XXI,1, 431–434; Welzhofer, "Beda's Zitate," pp. 25–41; Sillig, "Ansehen," pp. 409–420; Karl Rück, "Das Exzerpt der Naturalis Historia des Plinius von Robert von Cricklade," *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse*, Jahrgang 1902, pp. 195–285; Chibnall, pp. 65–67.

20. Detlev Detlefsen, "Epilegomena zur Sil-

Pliny remained a readily accessible text in the high and later medieval centuries. In the twelfth century, Abbot Robert de Thorigny made the first known attempt to improve the textual tradition by correcting errors in his own copy. In the same century, John of Salisbury cited Pliny several times. Such major thirteenth-century scholars as Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus used Pliny as an authority, though the latter did not cite him by name. In view of the encyclopedic nature of *Naturalis historia* itself, and also in view of the use of the work by later encyclopedists like Isidore and Bede, it is not surprising that the major encyclopedists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also used Pliny as a source second only to Aristotle: Thomas de Cantimpré, *De natura rerum*; Vincent de Beauvais, his three *Specula*; Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*—the latter perhaps only at second hand, through Vincent de Beauvais. Although the intellectual level of such works was far below that of the great scholastic doctors, the encyclopedias were widely used and even translated into the vernacular. More specialized use of parts of *Naturalis historia* (again, perhaps only through Vincent de Beauvais) is shown by the *Liber ruralium commodorum* (1304–1309) of Petrus de Crescentiis of Bologna; the *Liber moralitatum elegantissimus magnarum rerum naturalium* of the Viennese Carmelite Matthias Farinator, a work commissioned by Pope John XXII in 1330; and the pharmacological book *Aggregator Paduanus* (1355) by Jacobus Paduanus.<sup>21</sup>

lischen Ausgabe von Plinius *Naturalis Historia*," *Rheinisches Museum*, 15 (1860), 265–288, 367–390, is critical of the edition by Julius Sillig because it is based on only 130 manuscripts of all or part of the text, whereas Detlefsen claims to know between 180 and 190. Even that figure has been criticized as too low by Hilda Buttenwieser, "Popular Authors of the Middle Ages: The Testimony of the Manuscripts," *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 50–55. Kroll, *PW* XXI,1, 431–434, accepts a figure of about 200.

21. For this whole paragraph, Sillig, "Anse-

Although Pliny the Elder was a familiar and weighty author throughout the Middle Ages, he was frequently confused with his nephew, and the two Plinies were often regarded as the same man. Not only the Letters of Pliny the Younger but also the anonymous book *De viris illustribus* which was falsely attributed to the nephew were sometimes ascribed to the author of *Naturalis historia*. Not until the work of Johannes de Matociis (fl. 1305–1320), *Brevis admonitio de duobus Pliniis*, was the distinction between uncle and nephew clearly drawn.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. ITALIAN HUMANISM AND THE RENAISSANCE

Precisely because of the great extent of medieval knowledge of Pliny, the fate of this author is of special interest to anyone who wishes to get beyond the vague slogans of "renaissance" and "classical revival." The philological interests of the early humanists and their general enthusiasm for classical literature naturally embraced Pliny. He did not have to be rediscovered,<sup>23</sup> but he offered the classical scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many things which they desired. These things included not only the

hen," 409–420. Cf. the more extended list of medieval citations of Pliny in Manitius, "Beitrage," pp. 380–384. For Pliny as a source used by the medieval encyclopedists, cf. Chibnall, pp. 67–70.

22. Reynolds and Wilson, p. 113.

23. Giuseppe Billanovich, "Autografi del Boccaccio nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (Parigini Lat. 4939 e 6802)," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 8, VII (1952), 376–388, claims that *Naturalis historia* was a rare text and shows that all the citations of it in Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* represent several stages of later additions. Perhaps this was true for Florence, but certainly manuscripts were plentiful in many parts of Europe by the fourteenth century. As Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York, 1953), pp. 220–222, has shown, Boccaccio

sort of information about natural history which medieval scholars had long drawn from the same source, but also matters of more characteristically humanistic interest. His geographical books provided a description of the Roman Empire at its height. Other sections offered descriptions of the monuments and artistic works of Greek and Roman times. Precisely because he drew heavily and explicitly on a great number of earlier writers whose works had not survived, he provided access to parts of the classical heritage not otherwise available. Finally, in the purely linguistic sense, he provided a first-century vocabulary of many terms (especially technical and scientific ones) not available in any other author. Indeed, the first great humanistic commentator of Pliny, Hermolaus Barbarus, stated flatly that "without him Latin scholarship could hardly exist." This linguistic value was also keenly appreciated by humanistic translators of Greek scientific works into Latin. For example, Philippus Melanchthon in his *Oratio de vita Rodolphi Agricolae* not only claims that the pioneer German humanist Agricola studied Pliny while in Italy but also observes that Agricola's teacher Theodore of Gaza drew the Latin terminology for his translations of Aristotle and Theophrastus from *Naturalis historia*.<sup>24</sup>

drew heavily on the medieval mythological handbooks which he affected to despise. Hence although he may well have worked from sources like Vincent of Beauvais and then subsequently have added materials from direct consultation of Pliny, this does not necessarily mean that he had difficulty getting access to *Naturalis historia*. Remigio Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania, 1896), p. 14, maintains that in the fifteenth century, Pliny was one of the most widely diffused classical texts. Cf. also Chibnall, pp. 74–76.

24. Barbarus' statement is in his dedication to Pope Alexander VI and is quoted below, p. 339: "sine quo vix potest Latina res consistere." For Melanchthon, see his *Opera*, ed. by Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, XI (Halle, 1843), 442.

This interest by leading humanists in Pliny is easily documented. Franciscus Petrarca (1304–1374), the first humanist to obtain real prominence and the spiritual father of the movement which sought a "re-birth" of ancient culture, not only praised Pliny but also owned a copy of *Naturalis historia* which still preserves his marginal notes, produced as he worked carefully through the text.<sup>25</sup> The same manuscript also contains one marginal note in the hand of Johannes Boccattius (Giovanni Boccaccio, 1313–1375), and other notes by an unidentified contemporary. This evidence of study of Pliny by the two founding fathers of Florentine humanism is reinforced by another surviving manuscript which bears reader's notes in the hands of leaders of three generations of humanists: Coluccius Salutati (Coluccio Salutati, 1331–1406), Nicolaus Niccolus (Niccolò Niccoli, 1364–1437), and Bartholomaeus Platina (1421–1481).<sup>26</sup> The latter also produced an *Epitome* of Pliny (see below, p. 335). Another major Italian humanist for whom physical evidence of close study of Pliny survives is Angelus Politianus (Angelo Poliziano, 1454–1494). His copy of the printed text of Pliny (Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1473) contains frequent glosses, usually textual variants, dated 1480 and 1490, as well as a note showing that he lectured on Pliny in the latter year to a group of English and Portuguese students.<sup>27</sup> Politianus also gave attention to the text of Pliny in his influential *Miscellaneorum Centuria* (1489) and so, even though he did not himself produce a commentary, gained a reputation as a leading authority on the text of *Naturalis historia*.

25. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6802; cf. Billanovich, "Autografi," pp. 376–388.

26. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. T. I. 27.

27. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. Q. 1. 2., especially fol. 401<sup>v</sup>. Apparently the notes are contemporary but not autograph. Cf. J. M. S. Cotton, "Ex libris Politiani: II. Incunabula Bodleiana," *Modern Language Review*, 32 (1937), 394–399, and Reynolds and Wilson, p. 129.

This concern by Italian humanists with the text of Pliny was well established by the early fifteenth century. The first work which can in any sense be called a commentary, the *Epitoma Plinii Secundi in historia naturali*, was produced by the Genoese humanist Ludovicus de Guastis (Lodovico de'Guasti), probably in the second decade of the century, and no later than 1422.<sup>28</sup> Also expressing fifteenth-century interest in Pliny is a manuscript of excerpts made by a certain Retinaldus, a monk and probably (since the manuscript is written in several English hands of the early fifteenth century) an Englishman.<sup>29</sup> Another fifteenth-century Englishman, John Free (d. 1465), wrote *De cosmographia mundi*, a work which appears to be a collection of excerpts from Pliny made for his own use. Here the influence of Italian humanism is clear, since Free apparently made these excerpts after his departure in 1456 to study in Italy; and he wrote it in a hand modelled on current Italian usage rather than on the English script he used in his own letters.<sup>30</sup> The increasingly acute critical sense of the later Italian humanists could not fail to note the obvious deficiencies of all received texts of *Naturalis historia*. The first result of this tendency was the preparation of a critical text of the whole work by the prominent humanist and schoolmaster Guarino da Verona, completed in 1433.<sup>31</sup> There was even a Greek translation of a passage from Pliny by the fif-

teenth-century humanist Cyriacus Anconitanus (Cyriac of Ancona).<sup>32</sup>

#### 4. THE PRESS AND THE COMMENTATORS

The total lack of commentaries (as distinguished from marginal glosses and brief readers' notes) is a surprising characteristic of the medieval approach to Pliny. Even the first three or four generations of Italian humanists produced only the *Epitoma Plinii* of Guasti, which can be regarded as a commentary only in the broader sense of the term. None of the medieval manuscripts on which the modern recension rests has a commentary.

The reasons for this lack of commentaries (or at least scarcity, since earlier ones may still turn up) are not, however, far to seek. Most obviously, Pliny was not a part of the regular arts or medical curriculum in medieval schools. Hence the production of commentaries as a by-product of teaching did not occur as it did with a standard school author like Aristotle. In addition, though Pliny was well known and frequently referred to, his work was used in a way different from many other ancient books. He was a source of information, at a rather low level of sophistication, as demonstrated by his connection with medieval encyclopedists. Readers approached his text (or more likely, a specific and limited part of his text) for information on one or more special points. For such use, there was little need to understand his viewpoint, and hence little motivation to provide detailed explanation. The great number of medieval manuscripts containing excerpts (often focused on a particular topic) is witness to this type of approach. Finally, the lack of interest in complex questions of textual and historical criticism meant that the glaring deficiencies of the text of Pliny went largely unperceived. Medieval scholarship revered its classical sources and often knew them very thoroughly, but it showed little tendency to improve their textual quality. Even Italian humanism,

28. See the article on this work, p. 323 below.

29. Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 146 (A). Lynn Thorndike, "Epitomes of Pliny's Natural History in the Fifteenth Century," *Isis*, 26 (1937), 39, describes it as an epitome, but it is merely a rather long set of excerpts.

30. Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 124; cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), p. 102.

31. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino*, pp. 114-118, noting two manuscripts: Milan, Cod. Ambros. D 531 inf., and a later (1459) copy, Munich, Cod. Lat. Monac. 11301.

32. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 418.

though its emphasis on philological and linguistic study no doubt tended toward a more sophisticated interest in the text, did not develop a mature critical outlook until well into the fifteenth century—in fact, not until the time of Laurentius Valla (1407–1457) and Guarinus Veronensis (Guarino da Verona, 1370–1460).<sup>33</sup> The latter, we have seen, was the first humanist to attempt a critical edition of Pliny.

Perhaps this growing awareness of textual problems among humanists would have led to the production of commentaries on Pliny in any case. It was, however, the wonderful new art of printing which in fact created the conditions out of which the early Pliny commentaries grew.<sup>34</sup> The process of editing a classical author not for one's private copy but for an edition which would be widely diffused, and inevitably (whatever its merits or defects) would become a standard for reference, very quickly compelled humanist editors to face problems which their medieval and even humanistic predecessors had neglected. No classical text illustrates this growing awareness, arising out of preparation of copy for the printers, better than does *Naturalis historia*. The book was first printed in 1469 very early after the arrival of the first printers in Italy (Venice: Johannes de Spira, HCR 13087); and it was reprinted often, for a total of fifteen editions in the incunable period (through 1500).<sup>35</sup> The pub-

lishers included such influential firms as Sweynheym and Pannartz of Rome, Nicolas Jenson of Venice, and Aldus Manutius of Venice. Editions continued to appear frequently throughout the sixteenth century; and it became increasingly common for these editions to include one or more commentaries, plus an apparatus of marginal glosses. The ability of the book trade to absorb and distribute so many editions of a long and difficult text demonstrates anew the continuing popularity of Pliny and the respect for his authority, a message further underlined by the three fifteenth-century editions of the Italian translation by Cristoforo Landino (1476, 1481, and 1489), and by sixteenth-century translations into French, German, and Spanish.

Textual problems which arose in creating a text fit to be published as the standard form in which Pliny would henceforth be used were evident almost from the beginning. Such textual problems not only produced the earliest commentaries on Pliny but also remained at the center of commentators' interest throughout the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth centuries.<sup>36</sup> The background

33. Reynolds and Wilson, p. 125.

34. On the profound effect of printing on Renaissance humanistic scholarship, see Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1979), I, 101–113, 208–225, and *passim*. See also her earlier articles on this listed *ibid.*, II, 723–24.

35. Gudger, "Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*," pp. 269–281, claims thirty-nine incunable editions, but he appears to have reproduced the confusion of several early bibliographers and to have accepted unconfirmed editions, as was pointed out by Arnold C. Klebs, "Incunable

Editions of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*," *Isis*, 24 (1935–1936), 120–121. Remigio Sabbadini, "Edizioni quattrocentistiche della S. N. di Plinio," *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 8 (1900), 439–445, briefly describes the six scholars who edited the fifteenth-century editions of Pliny: the anonymous editor of the 1469 *editio princeps*; Johannes Andreas de Bussis, Bishop of Aleria (1470; reprinted 1472); Nicolaus Perottus (1473); Philippus Beroaldus the Elder (1476; reprinted 1479, 1480, 1481, 1483, 1487, and 1491); the brothers Angelus and Jacobus Britannicus (1496, two separate editions); and Johannes Baptista Palmarius ("e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari," 1497; reprinted 1499).

36. On the role of the textual approach in Renaissance study of classical scientific texts, see the important article of Peter Dilg, "Die botanische Kommentarliteratur in Italien um 1500 und ihr Einfluss auf Deutschland," in *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*, ed. by August Buck



of the first printed edition of 1469 remains obscure and its editor unnamed; but even its versified colophon claims that the text of Pliny had previously been so defective that it could hardly be read, and that the publisher had now restored the text in addition to making the book more readily available.<sup>37</sup> The second edition has a known humanist as editor, Johannes Andreas de Bussi (Giovanni Andrea de'Bussi, 1417–1475), Bishop of Aleria in Corsica, at various times secretary to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, and later librarian of the Vatican. In his dedication to Pope Paul II, Bussi acknowledged the aid of the humanist Theodore of Gaza, who also helped him with problems of Greek scholarship which arose in his other editions of classical texts for the printers Sweynheym and Pannartz. Two manuscripts, one of them still bearing the marks made by the compositors, survive as witness to his attempt to improve the text. In his dedication, Bussi praised the new art of printing as the greatest of all inventions.<sup>38</sup>

The appearance of Bussi's edition in 1470 (reprinted at Venice by Nicolaus Jenson in 1472) very quickly provoked the composition of three short commentaries, all of them

critical of Bussi's work and all of them destined to be reprinted many times: 1) The earliest was *Commentariolus in prooemium Plinii* by Nicolaus Perottus, probably to be dated between the appearance of Bussi's Roman edition in 1470 and the appearance of the Pliny (without commentary) which Perottus published at Rome in 1473 with Bussi's own printers, Sweynheym and Pannartz. This commentary is especially striking because of its sharp refutation of Bussi's optimistic confidence that the art of printing would be beneficial to learning, and because of its proposal that the authorities should create a system of pre-publication censorship to prevent the printing of inferior and defective books. 2) Almost immediately afterwards came the letter-commentary by Cornelius Vitellius, essentially agreeing with Perottus but renouncing his hostility toward Bussi. This work, also confined to Pliny's *Praefatio*, was published in the first (undated) edition of Perottus' little work and frequently accompanied it in subsequent editions. 3) In 1476, as an annex to his own edition of Pliny published at Parma, Philipus Beroaldus the Elder published a short commentary, also in the form of a letter, criticizing Bussi's edition and justifying the changes he himself had introduced. This work, usually stripped of the opening and closing epistolary sections, accompanied several later fifteenth-century editions of *Naturalis historia*.

Although the important textual work on Pliny by Angelus Politianus failed to produce anything but notes incorporated into his *Miscellaneorum Centuria*, a contemporary of his, Hermolaus Barbarus, published an extensive commentary on all books of Pliny in 1492 and seconded it with a set of supplemental notes, also covering the whole of Pliny, in 1493. These *Castigationes Plinianae* were the greatest contribution of the whole century to Pliny scholarship. They were reprinted in full only once after 1500; but the great authority of Barbarus can be seen not only in acknowledgements by later editors like Nicolaus Beraldus, Johannes Caesarius,

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and Otto Herding (Kommission für Humanismusforschung, Mitteilung I) (Bonn, 1975), pp. 227–230.

37. See the verso of the last leaf of ed. 1469:

“Quem modo tam rarum cupiens vix lector haberet,

Quique etiam fractus paene legendus eram, Restituit Venetis me nuper Spira Ioannes

Exscripsitque libros aere notante meos....”

38. See ed. Rome 1470, fol. 1<sup>v</sup> “Sed age quid in omnibus hominum inventis tanti unquam fuit ut cum impressorum nostrorum libraria arte digne conferri et anteferri queat?” On the manuscripts used for the edition, Adriana Marucchi, “Note sul manoscritto (Vat. Lat. 5991) di cui si è servito Giovanni Andrea Bussi per l'edizione di Plinio del 1470,” *Bulletin d'Information de l'Institut de Recherches et d'Histoire des Textes*, 15 (1967–1968), 175–182.



and Desiderius Erasmus<sup>39</sup> but also in the marginal glosses of a great number of sixteenth and seventeenth-century editions, where many of the variant readings are drawn from Barbarus. The failure of the *Castigationes* to be reprinted much in the following century is due not to their loss of importance but to the incorporation of Barbarus' emendations into the vulgate text printed in subsequent editions. The edition dated at Venice (Bernardus Benalius) in 1497 (probably 1498, modern style) was the first of a long series of editions whose title-page claimed to present the books of *Naturalis historia* "e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari quam emendatissime editi." The work of incorporating Barbarus' emendations into a printed edition of *Naturalis historia* was not done by Barbarus, who died shortly after publication of his *Castigationes*, but by Johannes Baptista Palmarius, editor of the 1497 (or 1498) edition.<sup>40</sup> Even the

edition prepared by Erasmus and published by Froben in 1525 claimed to have drawn on the notes of many learned men, "especially Hermolaus Barbarus." Another fifteenth-century commentary of some importance was the *Emendationes seu annotationes in Plinium* by Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, first published in 1497. Like the commentary of Barbarus (but to a much lesser degree), it became a source from which many of the readings or marginal variants of sixteenth-century editions were drawn. Finally, the *Compendium memorandorum vires naturales et commoda comprehendens a Plinio data* and the *Explanatio locorum Plinii difficiliorum*, both published by Robertus de Valle (Robert Duval) in 1500, though of small intrinsic merit, at least represent the first appearance of a non-Italian scholar in the field of Renaissance Pliny studies.

In addition to producing the earliest commentaries on Pliny, the later fifteenth century gave rise to a substantial number of controversial treatises as students of Pliny argued over the text and vied with each other for reputation. As a group, these works are not in the form of commentaries; but since they do deal with the *fortuna* of Pliny and often involve substantial discussion of the text, they will be briefly recorded.

The earliest such group of controversial works arose in part out of Perottus' criticism of the edition of Pliny by Bussi. A rival humanist, Domitius Calderinus, wrote a treatise denouncing Perottus (whom he nicknamed Brotheus) for corrupting the texts not only of Pliny but also of Martial, on whom Perottus wrote his major work, the *Cornucopiae* (see p. 266 above). This *Defensio adversus Brotheum* was first published in 1474 or 1475 with Calderinus' *Com-*

39. Beraldus' dedicatory epistle to Nicolaus Brachetius, in his edition of *Naturalis historia* (Paris: Nicolaus Beraldus and Reginaldus Chaldarius, 1516), fol. +2<sup>r</sup>; Caesarius, dedicatory epistle to his edition, octavo edition (Cologne: Eucharius Cervicornus, 1524), fol. AAA1<sup>v</sup>; Erasmus, dedicatory epistle to his edition (Basel: Froben, 1525), fol. A2<sup>r</sup>.

40. Palmarius described his debt to Barbarus and the genesis of his edition of Pliny in that edition (Venice: Bernardus Benalius, 1497 [1498, modern style]), fol. a1<sup>v</sup>: "Hermolai Barbari Patriarchae Aquileiensis in Plinium adnotationes eae sunt, quibus opinatissimum scriptorem satis commode restitui posse nemo inficiatur, immo de quibus ipse pronunciare non dubitaverim, quod Hircium de dictatoris Caesaris commentariis dictitare Suetonius Tranquillus memoriae prodidit, ut illis historicis, sic his grammaticis non exhibitam, sed sublatam Plinium commentandi occasionem, adeo omnium iudicio eruditorum comprobari videntur. Quo adparet Angelum Politianum, virum in utraque facundia eminentissimum, cum primum eas commentationes attigisset, haud iniuria dixisse, 'Solum Barbarum aevo nostro Latina lingua loqui.'...Ex huius itaque

mihi castigationibus auctorem approbatissimum, sed aetatis vitio locis non paucis depravatum, quoniam ut ipse ait, 'Transcribentium sors varia multum degenerat,' Antonius Moretus Bibliopola primarius, homo industrie litteratus ac vir probus, saepius rogando iniunxit publici commodi causa ut corrigerem."

*mentarii in Juvenalem*, and was reprinted several times. Criticism of Calderinus by the humanist Georgius Merula links this conflict with Merula's attack on the book *De homine* published about 1471 by Galeottus Martius (Merula, *In librum de homine Galeoti Narniensis* [Venice, ca. 1475]). Martius responded with his *Refutatio obiectorum in librum de homine* (Venice: Iacobus Rubeus, 1476), and all three tracts were subsequently reprinted together (Milan: Philippus de Mantegatiis, 1490). All of these works involved interpretation of portions of Pliny as well as of Martial. A few years later, Cornelius Vitellius, who had already mildly dissented from Perottus' work on Pliny in his own commentary on *Praefatio*, issued an attack on Merula in the form of a defense of Perottus' critic Calderinus (and, he said, of Pliny himself), *In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam Alexandrinum* (Venice: Baptista de Tortis, 1481-1482). This *In defensionem* expounds Pliny and is associated with Vitellius' earlier short commentary. Hence alone of these controversial tracts, it will be included below as a commentary, the second by Vitellius. Finally, Vitellius' work inspired yet another tract, a rebuttal in favor of Merula, *Pro Georgio Merula adversus quendam Cornelium Vitellium*, by Paulus Romuleius (Venice, 1482), who also gave considerable attention to Pliny. The significance of this tangled web of controversies is hard to determine. They impress modern readers as little more than examples of humanistic spitefulness, but perhaps some broader importance would emerge from closer study. In any case, the publications all do reveal a substantial concern with Pliny.

Far more significant is a second controversy, conducted between Nicolaus Leonicensus (Niccolò Leoniceno), professor of medicine at the University of Ferrara, and the jurist Pandolphus Collenuccius (Pandolfo Collenuccio). In 1492 Leonicensus published a short treatise under the title *De Plinii et plurium aliorum medicorum in medicina erroribus* (Ferrara: Laurentius de Valentia and Andreas de Castronovo). Although the

author boldly sought the endorsement of the humanists Politianus and Barbarus, and although he tried to soften his attack by claiming that the "Arabs" (that is, medieval Arabic medical authors as opposed to ancient Greek authorities) were the real target, his work charged that Pliny had misunderstood some of his Greek sources and had confused certain medicinal plants with others. Indeed, he said, there were enough errors in Pliny to fill a whole volume, not just a short tract. To excuse this attack on an ancient author, he emphasized the countervailing authority of Dioscorides. Error in classical authors was not unthinkable for Renaissance humanists, but the error would be blamed on careless and ignorant scribes, not on the ancient writer himself. The real radicalism of Leonicensus is shown in his insistence that Pliny himself had introduced the errors into the text.

Earlier Italian humanism had habitually approached scientific problems as problems in textual criticism, to be resolved by recovering the original wording and the original meaning of the classical authority. Concealed behind Leonicensus' attack on the reliability of Pliny for study of medicinal simples was the radical notion that such medical questions must in the last resort be resolved by referring to the known facts, not to the text of Pliny—though he moderated this apparent disrespect for Pliny by drawing those rival facts from another and older ancient authority, Dioscorides, and not from his own independent observations. The motivation behind Leonicensus' extremism probably was his experience as a practicing physician aware of the danger of confusing one medicinal plant with another. His real interest was not in the emendation of a text but in the determination and teaching of reliable medical knowledge. Leonicensus' outlook was not typical of his time; and as he predicted, he came under sharp attack from the jurist Collenuccius, in *Pliniana defensio adversus Nicolai Leoniceni accusationem* (Ferrara: Andreas Belfortis, [1493]). Yet Leonicensus' work was not wholly wasted; and in the next century his influence can be traced in some

of the most independent-minded medical botanists, such as Leonhart Fuchs and Euricius Cordus.<sup>41</sup> The same attitude is evident also in some later commentators on Pliny. Melchior Guilandinus (see below), for example, clearly stated the same point made earlier by Leonicensus when he argued that whereas a commentator on poems and most other literary genres must base his corrections of the text on ancient manuscripts alone, the method to be followed in emending a text in natural history, or in any subject in which the goal of the author was to present a factual description of things as they exist in the natural world, was different, allowing of emendation based on the works of other authoritative writers who had dealt with the same topic. Thus Guilandinus, like Leonicensus, conceived the function of a commentator on a work of natural history not as the philological restoration of a text but as the determination of scientific truth. Like Leonicensus, however, Guilandinus appears to have thought of this determination as the result of literary study of relevant ancient texts, and not as the result of independent scientific observation (for illustrative quotations, see the article on Guilandinus below, p. 405–08). A similar tendency to focus attention on the scientific truth of the subjects discussed by Pliny rather than on the literary and linguistic issues raised by the text is evident in the preface to the extensive and influential commentary on *Naturalis historia* by Jacobus Dalechampius (see below, p. 410, for a quotation from this preface, which was first published in 1587). Significantly, perhaps, both Guilandinus and Dalechampius, though well qualified classical

scholars, also had medical training and experience, the former being director of the botanical garden at Padua and professor of botany there, the latter being a practicing physician and the author of a famous work on botany.

There are also traces of other controversies bearing upon the interpretation of Pliny. The commentary by Raphael Regius, *Epistolae Plinii, qua libri naturalis historiae Tito Vespasiano dedicantur, enarrationes* (Venice, 1490), contains a bitter denunciation of the lectures on Pliny delivered at Padua by his rival Johannes Calphurnius, who had squeezed him out of the chair of rhetoric at Padua in 1486. In addition, there was much argument, some of it reflected in the commentaries and some in separate treatises, over which city, Verona or Como, could justly claim Pliny as a native son—for example, *De vera patria Plinii* (Como, 1605) by Paulus Cigalinus (d. 1598).

## 5. THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

As in all fields of humanistic study, the field of Pliny studies during the sixteenth century experienced an expansion of scholarly activity from Italy to the Northern European countries. Indeed, the shift in the center of Pliny studies was unusually drastic. Down to the year 1500, every commentary on *Naturalis historia* (and every edition of the text itself) had an Italian origin. After 1500, although there were still some Pliny commentaries produced in Italy, all of the major ones came from Northern Europe.

In terms of purely textual scholarship (as in the fifteenth century, the text remained the center of the commentators' attention), a relatively small group of the many commentaries produced had real importance. The first of these was not so much written as compiled by the Paris humanist and publisher Nicolaus Beralduus (Nicolas Berauld) to accompany the edition of Pliny which he published at Paris in 1516. The special importance of this edition was that it brought together a set of notes drawn from many humanists, including several who wrote on

41. Dilg, "Botanische Kommentarliteratur," pp. 235–241, sees the broader significance of this controversy in relation to the development of botanical studies in the later Renaissance. See also the older study by Alfredo Saviotti, *Una polemica tra due umanisti del secolo XV: Saggio di uno studio intorno alla vita e agli scritti di Pandolfo Collenuccio di Pesara* (Salerno, 1887). For the work of Fuchs and Cordus on Dioscorides, see above p. 78 and 67.

Pliny but did not produce a commentary: the Italian commentators Sabellicus and Beroaldus and the non-commentators Raphael Volaterranus; Erasmus (who edited *Naturalis historia* for the Froben press in 1525 but never produced a commentary); and especially two major Northern humanists, Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillaume Budé), whose famous treatise on ancient coinage, *De asse et partibus eius* (1513), paid much attention to portions of *Naturalis historia*; and Christophorus Longolius (Christophe de Longueuil), whose assistance Beralduus warmly acknowledged. Thus Beralduus' compilation helped to draw into the tradition of Pliny studies many important textual contributions which previously had been scattered or even (in the case of Longolius) unpublished. Less important but enjoying a great reputation in its own time was the commentary of the German humanist Johannes Caesarius, who like his older contemporary Johannes Rhagius (called Aesticampanus) had long been studying and lecturing on Pliny. Unlike Aesticampanus, Caesarius did preserve the results of his studies by publishing a commentary, though its fame rested more on the general reputation of the author than on the large number of rather arbitrary emendations it proposed. Of far greater significance were the commentaries produced by two humanists associated with the publisher Froben in Basel, men who worked in the shadow of Erasmus but who in fact contributed more solidly to the achievement of Froben than did their more famous friend. Beatus Rhenanus (Beatus Bild von Rheinau), a scholar of great reputation in his own right, followed up the Erasmus edition of Pliny (Basel: Froben, 1525) by publishing separately a commentary covering several parts of the text, based on an important old manuscript, Codex Murbacensis. Froben published this book in 1526. Even more influential was the work of a less well known figure, the Bohemian nobleman Sigismundus Gelenius, who settled in Basel as a proofreader and editor for Froben. His commentary, written in 1534 and first published with a Froben edition of

*Naturalis historia* in 1535, went through a great number of editions.

Spain and France each produced one of the two other major Pliny commentaries of the century. The Spanish one was the work of Ferdinandus Pintianus (Fernando Nuñez de Guzmán), *Observationes... in loca obscura aut depravata historiae naturalis C. Plinii* (1544-1545), often reprinted in his own and the following century. The French work, the last major commentary to be published in the sixteenth century, was the *Annotationes* of the botanist and physician Jacobus Dalechampius (Jacques Dalechamps). In addition, France produced one other scholar, Adrianus Turnebus (Adrien Turnèbe), who wrote only a brief commentary on Pliny's *Praefatio* but whose *Adversariorum libri* (2 vols.; Paris, 1564-1565; expanded in later reprints), a collection of his notes on ancient authors, was the source of marginal glosses which made him a weighty authority in the Pliny scholarship of the two following centuries.

In addition to these commentaries, sixteenth-century scholarship also produced a valuable aid to students in the form of an *Index Plinianus* (divided into two parts, geographical and general) by the Viennese Franciscan and theologian Johannes Camers (Vienna: Hieronymus Vietor and Johannes Singrenius, printers; Leonardus and Lucas Alantsee, publishers, 1514). This index, sometimes in revised form, accompanied many later editions of Pliny.

The making of commentaries and the proliferation of editions throughout the sixteenth century demonstrates the continued importance of Pliny as a major source for natural science in an age which still conceived the discovery of scientific truth as a process of textual investigation rather than as a process of scientific experimentation. Pliny, along with the Greeks Theophrastus and Dioscorides, held a central position in the emergence of botany and zoology as independent fields of study. For example, Conradus Gesnerus (Konrad Gesner), in his study of the *Halieutica* attributed to Ovid, elucidated the *Halieutica* not by expounding it directly

but by producing a short set of scholia on the scattered passages in which Pliny referred to it.<sup>42</sup> Only very gradually and incompletely did the focus of botanists' interest shift from the words of the ancient authority to the things in the real world represented by those words (a shift whose beginnings can be seen in the criticism of Pliny by Leoniceus). Even then, in advanced figures like Euricius Cordus (a pupil of Leoniceus at Ferrara and later professor of medicine at Marburg), botanical study proceeded by study of an ancient authority such as Pliny. In such figures, however, the goal was no longer the elucidation of the text but the correct and safe use of medicinal plants by practicing physicians.<sup>43</sup> Even so, Pliny remained what he had always been since his own time: a weighty and respected scientific authority.

Pliny may well have played another important role in the cultural history of the sixteenth century besides that of authority for botanical and other scientific studies. There is evidence that the growing emphasis on Pliny and the unprecedented efforts to use him as a standard university textbook were related to the general rebellion against traditional scholastic authorities, a tendency found everywhere in the sixteenth century, but especially in Protestant countries. Karl Dannenfeldt has recently reminded his readers of a point already suggested by George Sarton, that there seems to be some connection between Lutheranism and the revival of botanical studies in the sixteenth century, and that the Lutherans at Wittenberg introduced *Naturalis historia* in a role it had not commonly played (despite its great authority) in the Middle Ages, that of textbook in the arts faculties of the universities, as a rival to the traditional dominance of Aristotle in all fields of science.<sup>44</sup> Although the idea of

setting up the diffuse, discursive Pliny as an educational rival to the rational and intellectually superior Aristotle may seem too preposterous to have been tried, and although after about 1526 the Lutheran educational leader Philipp Melanchthon gradually restored Aristotle's position at the center of the liberal arts curriculum, one must recall that the Protestants in their educational reforms represented (for a time, at least) the awkward early stages of the great revolt against Aristotle which forms a central theme in the intellectual history of the sixteenth century. At the very outset of the curricular reforms which accompanied the religious changes at Wittenberg, in the winter of 1517-1518, the elderly Johannes Rhagius (Aesticampanus) came to Wittenberg to teach Pliny, an author whom he had previously attempted to introduce at Cologne. After Rhagius' death in 1520, the task of teaching Pliny fell to the brilliant young humanist Melanchthon.<sup>45</sup> After Melanchthon became too deeply involved in religious controversy and theology to teach Pliny, his pupil Jacobus Milichius (Jakob Milich) lectured on *Naturalis historia*, to be followed in later decades (the 1540's and 1550's) by Paulus Eberus and perhaps by Bartholomaeus Schonbornius. Milichius explicitly asserted the value of Pliny as the best avail-

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ists During the Sixteenth Century," in Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy, eds., *The Social History of the Reformation* (Columbus, Ohio, 1972), pp. 223-226; George Sarton, *Six Wings: Men of Science in the Renaissance* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957), p. 136.

45. Dannenfeldt, "Wittenberg Botanists," pp. 223-226. For a discussion of Melanchthon's abandonment of his youthful anti-Aristotelian sentiments and of his gradual restoration of Aristotle's writings to the Wittenberg curriculum, see Peter Petersen, *Geschichte der aristotelischen Philosophie im protestantischen Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1921), 1. Abschnitt, especially pp. 51-55. Aristotle's works on natural philosophy were the last part of his corpus to be restored to the curriculum at Wittenberg.

42. See his scholia in his *De piscibus et aquatilibus omnibus libelli III* (Zurich, 1556), pp. 8-11.

43. Dilg, "Botanische Kommentarliteratur," pp. 249-252; cf. Karen Meier Reeds, "Renaissance Humanism and Botany," *Annals of Science*, 33 (1976), 519-542.

44. Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Wittenberg Botan-

able introduction to the study of natural philosophy, and presented his own commentary on Pliny in a form consciously adapted to educational needs.<sup>46</sup>

What all these successors of Aesticampanus have in common other than their task of lecturing on Pliny at Wittenberg is that all of them produced commentaries on some part of *Naturalis historia*. These works, no doubt by-products of their classroom teaching, are of little importance in the textual history of Pliny: modern editors still cite Barbarus, Beatus Rhenanus, Gelenius, Pintianus, and Dalechampius, but never any of the Wittenberg group. The reason is that unlike all other commentaries on Pliny, which sought to emend and explain specific passages of the text and which were usually associated with the preparation of an edition of the text for publication, these Wittenberg commentaries sought to explain the meaning of Pliny in a way helpful to young students in the arts curriculum. Hence they are discursive and expository, not closely tied to specific words of the text, but aimed at conveying the general meaning of the section under study. What may be the larger significance of this unusual appearance of Pliny as Aristotle's rival in the classroom remains to be determined by further research. Certainly Aristotle was not permanently banished from Wittenberg; and Melanchthon himself, former lecturer on Pliny, played a major role in re-establishing Aristotelianism in the curriculum. But to a generation of reformers which was trying to overturn traditional education by weakening the hold of Aristotle on the curriculum, Pliny was an obvious if inadequate substitute in the field of natural history. Further research is needed to clarify this new aspect of Pliny, in which he became (fifteen centuries after his death) not only a fellow-traveller of the Reformation but also

(and more significantly) one of the ancient sources of the intellectual upheaval of the sixteenth century.

As the work of the Spanish commentator Pintianus well demonstrates, by no means all interest in Pliny during the later sixteenth century was centered in Protestant lands. Two manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brussels illustrate this point. Both are miscellaneous collections of commentaries and notes on *Naturalis historia*, coming from the sixteenth century. One of them (MS. 8481-8483) is conjecturally dated about 1580 and is of Spanish origin. It contains two anonymous commentaries (treated below as Anonymus Bruxellensis A and Anonymus Bruxellensis B); three sets of textual glosses on Pliny, without indication of authorship; a list of Pliny commentators; two pages of textual notes extracted from a longer work by Petrus Ciacconius (*q.v.*, p. 416, below); and one book (VII) of the Pliny commentary by Johannes Andreas Straneus of Valencia (*q.v.*, p. 383, below), plus two pages of notes on Polydore Vergil and one interpolated letter of the late seventeenth century. The handwriting shows that several persons did the writing. The second manuscript (MS. 8516-8517) contains the unprinted commentary by the Belgian humanist and bishop Laevinus Torrentius (see below, p. 403); extracts from textual notes by Antonius Augustinus on a letter of Pliny the Younger to Cornelius Tacitus; the commentary on Books IX and XXXII of Pliny by Johannes Caesarius (see below, p. 363); an extract from the controversial work of Nicolaus Leonicens, *De Plinii erroribus*; and extracts from an otherwise unknown set of textual notes on Pliny by the English humanist William Latimer (*q.v.*, below, p. 417). Both of these manuscripts, one originating in Spain and the other in the Low Countries, reflect serious and sustained study of Pliny and his Renaissance commentators and editions by a number of scholars active in several countries. The materials in both, not only the glosses but also the commentaries, reflect the concentration on textual questions which character-

46. Jacobus Milichius, dedicatory epistle to Georgius, Prince of Anhalt, in *Liber secundus C. Plinii de mundi historia, cum commentariis Iacobi Milichii* (Halae Suevorum, 1538), fol. A4<sup>v</sup>-B1<sup>v</sup> (see article on Milichius, below, p. 383, for a quotation illustrating this point).

ized most commentaries except those produced by Melanchthon and his followers.

## 6. LATER DEVELOPMENTS

The commentaries and textual work of the leading sixteenth-century scholars, especially of Gelenius, Pintianus, and Dalechampius, continued to dominate Pliny scholarship until the late seventeenth century. The *Pliniana exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* of the French scholar Claudius Salmasius (Claude de Saumaise, 1588-1653), the first significant step beyond the work of the sixteenth century, were published in 1629 (Paris: H. Drouart, 2 vols.) with Salmasius' edition of Solinus and were reprinted in 1689. These notes, together with notes taken from the works of Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609, author of a hostile commentary on the Pliny commentary of Melchior Guilandinus, briefly discussed below, p. 406), of Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), of Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611-1671), and of several sixteenth-century scholars, contributed to the text and apparatus of the influential edition of Pliny by Gronovius (3 vols.; Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden] et Roterodami [Rotterdam]: Apud Hackios, 1668-1669). Gronovius' notes on Pliny, *In aliquot C. Plinii Naturalis historiae libros notae*, were separately printed in the nineteenth century (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1855). The greatest achievement of seventeenth-century Pliny scholarship, however, was the edition *in usum Serenissimi Delphini* by Johannes Harduinus (Jean Hardouin) (5 vols.; Paris: F. Muguet, 1685), which was reprinted several times in the eighteenth century, notably the three-volume folio edition of 1723. Harduinus' notes incorporated the findings of earlier Pliny scholarship and in turn were influential on the later eighteenth-century editions of Pliny by Johannes Georgius Fridericus Franzius (10 vols.; Lipsiae [Leipzig]: G. G. Sommer, 1778-1791); and by Gabriel Brotier (6 vols.; Parisiis [Paris]: J. Barbou, 1779). Still within the same scholarly tradition were the edition by A. J. Valpy (12 vols.; Londini [London]:

A. J. Valpy, 1826), and the edition published as volumes 58-66 of the series *Bibliotheca Classica Latina* of Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, and edited by a number of French scholars, C. Alexandre, F. Ansart, Jo. B. Fr. Steph. Ajasson, and L. Desfontaines (9 vols.; Paris: Firmin Didot, 1827-1831). In all of these later editions, the work of the major Renaissance and post-Renaissance Pliny scholars (Barbarus, Gelenius, Pintianus, Dalechampius, Scaliger, Salmasius, Vossius, Gronovius, and Harduinus) continued to dominate both the commentary and the text. The critical apparatus of the great editions of 1668-1669, 1778-1791, and 1827-1831 includes variorum commentaries which draw so heavily on the work of earlier annotators that these editions are listed below as publications of selected materials from the various scholars from whom they were drawn.

The nineteenth century witnessed the dominance of German scholarship in classical philology, and nowhere more than in the study of Pliny. For the first time, the text was methodically revised on the basis of the manuscripts, which in turn were systematically classified. Although earlier scholarship is still reflected in the text and notes of these modern editions, they mark a fundamental turning point in the study of Pliny. The principal modern editions are: the edition of Julius Sillig (8 vols.; Hamburg and Gotha: Fridericus and Andreas Perthes, 1851-1858); that of Ludovicus Jan (6 vols.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1854-1865, with a second edition by Jan and by Carl Mayhoff, 1870-1898); that of D[etlef] Detlefsen (5 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1866-1873, plus index, 1882); and that of Carl Mayhoff, begun as a revision of Jan's edition (5 vols.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1892-1906; reprinted with Jan's index, 6 vols.; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1967-1970). In the twentieth century, there have been two full editions based on this German tradition, that of Harris Rackham with English translation for the Loeb Classical Library (10 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938-1963), which adds little of importance to the text; and that sponsored by the Assoc-



iation Guillaume Budé in the Collection des Universités de France, published with French translation (37 vols. projected; still in course of publication; Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1947-).

## 7. TRANSLATIONS

The first translation of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* into any vernacular was that into Italian by the Florentine humanist Cristoforo Landino, published by Nicolas Jenson at Venice in 1476, and reprinted in the same city in 1481, 1489, 1501, 1516, 1534, and 1543 (the latter edition revised and published by Antonio Brucioli). Antonio Brucioli also published a translation of his own (Venice, 1548). More widely diffused was a third Italian translation, the work of Lodovico Domenichi (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1561; reissued 1562; reprinted 1573, 1580, 1589, 1603, 1612).

There was an early French translation of selections from Pliny in [pseudo-] Albertus Magnus, *Le Grant Albert des secretz des vertus des herbes*, appearing in several undated editions of the early sixteenth century and in one dated edition (Paris: Nicolas Buffet, 1544) and apparently including materials from Books XXV-XXVII. The humanist Loys Meigret published a translation of Book II only (Paris: Christian Wechel, 1552); and Pierre de Changy brought out his *Sommaire des singularitez de Pline*, a selection of passages from Books I-XVI, in 1542 (Paris: A. et C. Les Angeliers; new edition, Paris: R. Breton, 1559). The first complete translation of Pliny was by Antoine du Pinet, Seigneur de Noroy (2 vols.; Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1562), and it long remained the standard French version (new editions in 1566, 1580-1581, 1608, 1615, 1625). There were new translations in the eighteenth century: Books VII-XI by P. C. B. Guérout (Paris: Brocas, 1785, with several reprints); and the whole text by Louis Poinsinet de Sivry (12 vols.; Paris: Veuve Desaint, 1771-1782, with several reprints). In the nineteenth century there were two new translations, both with the Latin text: by Ajasson de

Grandsaigne (20 vols.; Paris: C. L. F. Pancoucke, 1829-1833), and by Émile Littré (2 vols.; Paris: J. J. Dubochet, Le Chevalier et Cie, 1848-1850). The Littré translation has remained standard but is now joined by the new French translation of Alfred Ernout *et al.*, in the critical Latin-French edition still in progress under the auspices of the Association Guillaume Budé.

The first English Pliny, the work of Philemon Holland, did not appear until the early seventeenth century (2 vols.; London: A. Islip, 1601; reprinted 1634 and reissued 1635), but a partial translation of selections from Books I-XVI, *A Summarie of the Antiquities and Wonders of the World, Out of the Sixtene First Bookes of Plinie*, based on the French version by Pierre de Changy and attributed to John Alday, appeared earlier (London: Printed by Henry Denham for Thomas Hacket, 1566; reprinted 1585 and 1587). Philemon Holland's translation remained standard until the nineteenth century, when it was replaced by the version of John Bostock and Henry Thomas Riley (6 vols.; London: H. G. Bohn, 1855-1857; many later editions). The current translation is that by Harris Rackham *et al.* in the bilingual Loeb Classical Library edition (10 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938-1963).

Unlike French and English, Spanish has had only one vernacular translation, by Gerónimo de Huerta: Books VII and VIII came out in 1599 (Madrid: Luis Sánchez; reprint *ibid.*, 1602); Book IX in 1603 (*ibid.*); but Huerta's complete translation was not published until two decades later (2 vols.; Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1624-1629).

The German-speaking world received no full translation of Pliny until the eighteenth-century versions by Johann Daniel Denso (2 vols.; Rostock: A. F. Rosen, 1764-1765) and by Gottfried Grosse (12 vols.; Frankfurt-am-Main: J. C. Hermann, 1781-1788); but there were two translations of Books VII-XI during the sixteenth century, by Heinrich von Eppendorf (Strassburg: Hans Schotten, 1543), and by Johann Heyden (Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Schmidt, 1565; reprinted



1571, 1584, 1600, 1618, 1651). There were several nineteenth-century translations: by Moritz Frisch (8 vols.; n.p., 1828–1830), by Philipp Hedwig Külb (39 vols.; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1840–1877), by C.F.L. Strack (3 vols.; Bremen: J.G. Heyse, 1853–1855), and by Georg Christian Wittstein (6 vols.; Leipzig: Gressner & Schramm, 1880–1882). The German version of Books VII–XI by Heyden was the basis for an unattributed translation of selections from the same books into Dutch (Arnhem: Jan Janszen, 1610), which passed through many editions (1617, 1620, 1644, 1657, 1662, 1703, 1733). There is also an old and unconfirmed (and rather unlikely) report of an Arabic translation of Pliny.<sup>47</sup>

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1521, Basileae (Basel): Andreas Cratander. Contents as in ed. 1499, above. Panzer VI, 229, 412; NUC; Adams P-722. BM; Cambridge University Library; (MH; MoSU-D).

1522, Tusculanum apud Benacum (Toscolano): Alexander Paganinus. Contents as in ed. 1499, above. Panzer VIII, 333, 3; NUC; Adams P-723; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. BM; BN; (DLC; IU; NcU).

1526, Basileae (Basel): Valentinus Curio. Contents as in ed. 1499, above. Panzer VI, 256, 637; NUC; Adams P-724; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. BM; BN; Edinburgh UL; (IU; NcU; PPL).

1527, Venetiis (Venice): Aldus [Manutius] and Andreas Asulanus Socer. Contents as in ed. 1499, above. Panzer VIII, 496, 1334 (he dates it 1526); NUC; Adams P-725, P-726; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. BM; BN; (CU; IU; MoU).

(micro.) 1531, Basileae (Basel): Henricus Petrus. Commentary of Jacobus Ziegler, with commentary by Georgius Collimitius appended; with text of Book II. Panzer VI, 284, 847; Adams Z-152; Graesse, *Trésor* VI (1922), 515. BM; BN.

(\*)1532, Basileae (Basel): Valentinus Curio. Contents as in ed. 1499, above (reported by Brian Jenkins, Assistant Library Officer, Cambridge University Library). Panzer VI, 290, 884; NUC; Adams P-727; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205 (indicating a false date, 1432). Cambridge University Library; BN; (CSmH; Dfo).

(\*)1536, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Valderus. Contents as in ed. 1499, above (reported by W. H. Bond, Librarian, The Houghton Library, Harvard University). Panzer VI, 315, 1087; NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. (MH; MsG).

1536, [Paris]: Christianus Wechelus. Edition of *Naturalis historia*, Book II, with commentaries on that book by Hermolaus Barbarus (from both his *Castigationes primae* and his *Castigationes secundae*), Johannes Caesarius, and Petrus Johannes Olivarius. BM; BN (BN dates it 1537 since it was published between 1 January and 25 March).

(micro.) 1550, Coloniae Agrippinae (Cologne): Vidua Arnoldi Birkmanni. Commentary of Jacobus Ziegler, with commentary by Georgius Collimitius appended; with text of Book II. Adams Z-123. Cambridge University Library; BM; BN.

1587, Lugduni (Lyons): Bartholomaeus Honoratus. Edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Jacobus Dalechampius and Sigismundus Gelenius. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; BN; (CoU; DNLM; IU).

1593, [Heidelberg]: Hieronymus Commelinus. Edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Sigismundus Gelenius, Beatus Rhenanus, and Ferdinandus Pintianus. (This edition is bibliographically complex. The first part is apparently a re-issue, with new, comprehensive title-page, of an earlier edition of Pliny: Lugduni: Petrus Santandrianus, 1582, which contained only the commentary of Gelenius. The other two commentaries, which are in an appended section having its own title-page, appear to have been added in 1593, when the new title-page was composed and both parts issued as a new edition of Pliny.) BM.

1597, [Heidelberg]: Hieronymus Commelinus. Adrianus Turnebus, *Lucubrationes variae*, including the text of Pliny's *Praefatio* and commentaries on it by Turnebus and Leodegarius a Quercu (Leger Duchesne). BN; (CU; MoSU).

1599, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frank-

furt-am-Main): Johannes Feyerabendt. An edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Jacobus Dalechampius and Sigismundus Gelenius. BM; BN; Vienna, NB and UB; (CoU; IU; CtY; CSt).

(\*)1600, [Heidelberg]: Hieronymus Commelinus. A reprint of Adrianus Turnebus, *Lucubrationes variae*, ed. 1597 (see above), with commentaries by Turnebus and Leodegarius a Quercu. Vienna NB.

1602, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Jonas Rhodius. Janus Gruterus, ed., *Lampas, sive fax artium liberalium* (7 vols.; Frankfurt-am-Main, 1602-1634), vol. I, including both commentaries of Philippus Beroaldus, both of Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, and the second commentary of Cornelius Vitellius (*In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam Alexandrinum*); comm. only. NUC. BM; BN; (ICN; MH; MoU).

1606, Aureliae Allobrogum (Geneva): sumptibus Caldorianae Societatis. An edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Jacobus Dalechampius and Sigismundus Gelenius. NUC. BM; (MnCS; NjP; ViU).

(\*)1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): Petrus and Jacobus Chouet. An edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Jacobus Dalechampius, Sigismundus Gelenius, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and Beatus Rhenanus (reported by Professor Nathan Dane of Bowdoin College). NUC. BN; (MeB; OkU).

(\*)1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): S. Crispinus. An edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Sigismundus Gelenius, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and Beatus Rhenanus (reported by Susan M. Scheafnocker of the Pelletier Library, Allegheny College). NUC. BN; (PMA).

1631, [Geneva]: Iacobus Crispinus. An edition of *Naturalis historia*, with commentaries by Beatus Rhenanus, Jacobus Dalechampius, Sigismundus Gelenius, and Ferdinandus Pintianus. NUC. BM; (CU; ICN; MH).

1669, Lugduni Batavorum et Roterodami (Leiden and Rotterdam): apud Hackios,

3 vols. This edition of *Naturalis historia* contains a variorum commentary drawn from Hermolaus Barbarus, Beatus Rhenanus, Jacobus Dalechampius, Sigismundus Gelenius, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and a number of seventeenth-century commentators. Edited by Johannes Fredericus Gronovius. NUC. BM; BN; (CU; DLC; MoSW).

(\*)1737-1751, Florentiae (Florence): sumptibus Societatis, 4 vols. A re-edition, by J. F. Palesius and F. Tamburinus, of Janus Gruterus, ed., *Lampas, sive fax artium liberalium*. This probably contains the same commentaries as in ed. 1602, above. NUC. BN; (CtY; ICN).

1778-1791, Lipsiae (Leipzig): G. G. Sommerus, 10 vols. Edition of *Naturalis historia*, edited by J. G. F. Franzius. The variorum commentary has the same sources as the 1669 composite edition above, plus several post-1669 scholars. NUC. BM; BN; (CU; DNLM; MoSB).

1827-1831, Paris: Firminus Didot, 9 vols. (vols. 58-66 of Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, ed., *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*). The variorum commentary in this edition of *Naturalis historia* is drawn from Hermolaus Barbarus, Jacobus Dalechampius, Sigismundus Gelenius, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and a number of other scholars who wrote after 1600. NUC. BM; BN; (MiDU; OCX; ViLxW).

#### DOUBTFUL COMPOSITE EDITIONS

The following publications have been reported to contain more than one commentary on Pliny, but their contents have not been confirmed:

1501, Lugduni (Lyons): Jacobus Mailletus. An edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*. If Graesse is correct in calling it a reprint of the Aldine edition of 1499, it should contain both the commentary of Perottus and the first commentary of Cornelius Vitellius (Cornelius Vitellius Parthenio Benacensi). Panzer, however, though he shows the presence of Perottus' commentary, does not mention that of Vitellius. Panzer VII, 275-276, 1; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205.

1502, Parisiis (Paris): Udalricus Gering and Bertholdus Rembolt. This edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, probably contains both the commentary of Perottus and the first commentary of Cornelius Vitellius (Cornelius Vitellius Parthenio Benacensi), since the other editions by these publishers do contain both works; but the only copy located, at Cambridge University Library, is too fragmentary for this question to be determined (report from Brian Jenkins, Assistant Library Officer). Adams P-717.

1511, [n.p.]. British Museum, *Catalogue of Printed Books*, CXCI, 515, claims such an edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, with the commentary of Perottus and probably the first commentary of Cornelius Vitellius (Cornelius Vitellius Parthenio Benacensi). There is, however, no such entry in the same catalog under the principal heading, Perottus. This claimed edition is probably an error for the 1521 edition of *Cornucopiae*, with both commentaries, to which the British Museum *Catalogue* assigns the same shelf-mark.

1512, Mediolani (Milan): Leonardus Vegius. Contents are probably like those of ed. 1499 (see above, Composite Editions), but I have been unable to locate a copy to confirm whether the commentaries of Perottus and Vitellius are present. Panzer VII, 391, 115.

1528, Parisiis (Paris): Nicolaus Savetier. An edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*. The only source, Panzer VIII, 117, 1732, does not mention the commentaries of Perottus and Vitellius on Pliny; but if there was such an edition, it probably contained the commentaries, since I have located only one edition of *Cornucopiae* published in this period which lacked them: Paris: Petrus Gromorsus, 1525 (report of the copy in Evora, Biblioteca Publica, by the Director, Sr. Antonio Leandro Alves).

1529, Parisiis (Paris): Joannes Parvus. An edition of Nicolaus Perottus, *Cornucopiae*. The only source, Panzer VIII, 120, 1773, does not mention the commentaries of Perottus and Vitellius on Pliny; but such an

edition from this period would probably have contained them. See the preceding note.

## I. *Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*

### COMMENTARIES

#### 1. LUDOVICUS DE GUASTIS

This *Epitoma Plinii Secundi in historia naturali*, by the Genoese humanist and grammarian Ludovicus de Guastis, must have been composed between 1400 and 1422. It is dedicated to Paulus Guinisius (Paolo Guinigi), Lord of Lucca from 1400 to 1430. According to Remigio Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* (Catania, 1896), pp. 114–115, one of the manuscripts is dated 16 January 1422, thus establishing the latest possible date of composition. (Sabbadini cites A. I. Torre di Rezzonico, *Disquisitiones Plinianae*, II, 220–223; the manuscript is probably Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. O 61 sup., which Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, I, 304, dates 1422). In view of the increasingly unstable political situation of Guinigi from about 1418, the dedication is more likely to have been made before 1420 than after, especially as the dedicatory epistle shows that Guasti was not Guinigi's subject but knew him only by reputation. Such an outsider in search of princely favor would have been unlikely to seek the patronage of a faltering despot. Guinigi was a noted collector of manuscripts, and the dispersal of his library after his fall from power was much remarked upon (Cosenza, V, 888). Guasti's *Epitoma* covers all books of Pliny except Book IV, which he omitted "because it contains nothing worthy" (Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS. 3123, fol. 24). The text seems never to have been printed, but there are many fifteenth-century manuscript copies, doubtless because the work provided a short and simple introduction to a long and difficult author.

*Epitoma Plinii Secundi in historia naturali* abbreviatum per Dominum Ludovicum de Guastis, ad illustrem principem Paulum Guinisium dominum Lucensem incipit

foeliciter (Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS. 3123, which may be the presentation copy).

Dedication. [*Inc.*]: Etsi compertum habeo, illustris princeps Paule, tot in orbe terrarum librorum esse volumina ut homini longaevo ad illa legenda nec vita sufficiat, attamen quia opere pretium est aliquid posteris quod prosit vel oblectet dicere, et animadverterem ego Ludovicus de Guastis Plinii opus mirificum omni scientiarum refertum munere, vel sermonis difficultate aut scriptorum imperitia, librum omnibus fere mortalibus incognitum esse, ne tanti viri labores periissent in irritum, decrevi illius dicta ad brevem a prolixo, ad facilem a difficili sermonem reducere, ut nedum paucis doctis sed etiam parvis imbutis litteris liceat undique volumen hoc transcurrere, in quo pauca de multis excerpta videlicet plura memoratu digna scribere institui. Accipe igitur hunc librum, princeps Lucane dignissime, et dignum precor iudices inter tuos commentarios residere quo fiat huic facilius apud caeteros transitus cum iidem tibi noverint non displicuisse opusculum, licet materno satis stilo compositum. Nam sic mens ab institutione prima fuit, non ut paucis sed ut omnibus inserviret. Quod tamen scio plurimos etiam omnis laudis expertes, si non palam, taciturnitate quadam improbaturos. Eos igitur silere iube ne livore librum ad tuam excellentiam editum carpant, quem per te tueri precor, clementissime Caesar.

Epitome. [*Inc.*]: Mundi aeternitas [cf. II, 1]. Mundum sive caelum sub quo clauduntur singula aeternum et ingenitum, nec interitum esse, dignum est credere. Quid autem extra illud sit nec investigandum est nec si sit humani concipiunt intellectus. Hic sacer est, aeternus, immensus, infinitus.../...[*Expl.*]: De Heliotropio [cf. XXXVII, 165]. Nascitur heliotropium apud Aethiopes Cyprum et Africam. Et cum multa sint iaspidum genera, sufficiat tuae celsitudini, p [rinceps] L [ucane], quod dictum de his est, nam epitoma hoc est, id est breviatio, in qua circa duo potissime versatus est animus, primo ut minima ex multis exciperem, secundo ut quicquid scripturus essem, id



plano, id omnibus lucido sermone proferrem, quod iuxta vota perfecerim. Hanc brevitatem et sermonis tenuitatem tua sine molestia gerat precor clementia, princeps illustris, et auctorem commendatum suscipiat.

Explicit epitoma libri xxxvii historiae naturalis, compositum per Ludovicum de Guastis ad illustrem principem Paulum dominum Lucanum.

Author's concluding letter: Ad praefatum illustrem dominum Lucanum epistola per eundem Ludovicum. [*Inc.*]: Cur tibi non nisi fama mihi cognito, p[rin]ceps L[ucane], ascribendum potius hoc opus putaverim quam ulli inter tot orbis primates, si cui forte vertatur in dubium, praesto ratio est.../...[*Expl.*]: sed id suo cum auctore ea benivolentia suscipe, qua arbitrari potes esse compositum ad laudis tuae gloriam, quam dii immortales diu precor servent incolumem. Amen. Laus Deo et omnibus sanctis. Amen.

#### *Manuscripts:*

(\*)Escorial. MS. Escorial g III 2. s. XV. With Aemilius Probus, *Liber de excellentibus ducibus*, etc. (Antolín, *Catálogo* II, 257-260; Cosenza II, 1727; Thorndike, *Isis*, 26 [December, 1936], 39).

Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana, MS. C. CCXXV. s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 108).

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 594, 1516. With Horace, *Satyrae quaedam*, etc.; in the hand of Franciscus Medices. Text breaks off in middle of last chapter of Book XXXV and also lacks author's concluding letter to his patron (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 193).

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 992. s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 180).

Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS. 1194. s. XV. MS. lacks one leaf at the beginning, containing the dedicatory epistle and the opening lines of the first chapter. (Morpurgo, I, 256).

(\*)Florence, Società Colombaria, MS. II II 2. 3 (now 237), s. XV-XVI. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 227; II, 518).

Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa, MS. 3123. s. XV. Probably the presentation copy to the Lord of Lucca. The cover contains the nota-

tion: "Questo libro fù dedicato all'Illustrissimo Signore Principe Paulo Guinighi dal Signor Lodovico de'Guasti." (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 262).

(\*)Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. O 61 sup. 1422. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 304).

(\*)Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. Est. lat. 62 (Alpha O 7, 24), misc., s. XV. fragment. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 368).

(\*)Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. Est. lat. 437 (Alpha Q 4, 15), misc., s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 371).

(\*)Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS. Est. lat. 1197 (Alpha R 3, 8, no. 3), s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 373).

(\*)Siena, Biblioteca Civica, MS. L III 8, s. XV. (Ilari IV, pt. I, p. 243; Kristeller, *Iter* II, 158).

(\*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 7573. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 343).

(\*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Regin. Lat. 1613. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 403; Montfaucon I, 37, no. 1088).

(\*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Regin. Lat. 1931, s. XV (with other texts). (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 411).

(\*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chis. E VII 228, s. XV. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 473).

(\*)Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 475, s. XV. With *Lactantii Institutionum sexti et septimi epitome*, etc. (Cosimo Stornajolo, ed., *Codices Urbinales Latini*, I [1902], 481-482).

#### *Biography:*

Ludovicus de Guastis (Lodovico de'Guasti), Genoese humanist, flourished in the first half of the fifteenth century and apparently is the same person (Ludovicus de Guaschis) who wrote a commentary on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, included in several fifteenth-century editions of Alexander's work. Apparently at some date after 1431, he became rector of the school in Pinerolo (Vinay, *L'Umanesimo subalpino*, p. 29). In the printed editions of his *Doctrinale* commentary, he is called "artium doctor" and "grammaticus." His origin at Genoa is based on the epithet *Januensis* applied to him in



Siena, Biblioteca Civica, MS. L III 8 (Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 158).

*Works:* In addition to his unpublished epitome of Pliny, Guasti left a commentary on the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei which later in the century was published with the text of Alexander. The commentary first appeared in an undated edition which Dietrich Reichling, *Alexandri de Villa-Dei Doctrinalis codices* (Berlin, 1894), dates about 1480; the first two dated editions were both published in 1481, at Vicenza and Milan.

*Bibl.:* Cosenza II, 1727, and V (Synopsis), 879; Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, I, 184.

Dietrich Reichling, *Alexandri de Villa-Dei Doctrinalis codices* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 51-170, especially items no. 14, 16-18; Dietrich Reichling, ed., *Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa-Dei* (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, Band XII; Berlin, 1893; Remigio Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese* Catania, 1896); pp. 114-115; Lynn Thorndike, "Epitomes of Pliny's Natural History in the Fifteenth Century," *Isis*, 26 (December, 1936), 39; Gustavo Vinay, *L'Umanesimo subalpino nel secolo XV* (Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina, CXLVIII; Turin, 1935), p. 29.

## 2. NICOLAUS PEROTTUS

This short but important *Commentariolus in prooemium Plinii* covers only the *Prooemium* or *Praefatio* of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*. Its avowed purpose is to point out the errors of the second printed edition of Pliny, edited by Johannes Andreas de Bussis (Giovanni Andrea de' Bussi), Bishop of Aleria, and printed at Rome in 1470 by Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz. It claims to demonstrate twenty-two errors in the *Praefatio* alone. In its original form as a letter, it contained an early statement on the significance of the new art of printing, a warning of the dangers posed for learning by the carelessness of printers, an attempt to define the editorial principles to be applied to the emendation of classical authors, and a proposal for stringent pre-

publication censorship of the press in order to ensure high quality in scholarly editions. The date of Perottus' commentary probably falls between the publication of Bussi's edition of Pliny in 1470 and the appearance of the Pliny edition (without commentary) which Perottus himself published in 1473, also at Rome and with the same publishers. (See Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto* [Biblioteca Vaticana, Studi e Testi, no. 44; Rome, 1925], pp. 90-92, on the question of the date.)

This commentary was first published along with a short commentary by Cornelius Vitellius in an edition without place, date, or name of publisher (HR 12708) which Brunet (*Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 506) assigns to the year 1470 and Guarnaschelli (*Indice* IV, 221, no. 7418) to ca. 1482; but beginning with the third edition of Perottus' famous *Cornucopiae* (HC 12698: 1490, Venice: Baptista de Tortis), the *Commentariolus* was regularly appended to the many subsequent editions of *Conucopiae*. In this first joint edition, however, the *Commentariolus* underwent some textual changes, probably the work of an unknown editor for Baptista de Tortis, since Perottus himself died in 1480. The addressee of the letter into which the commentary is set was changed from Guarnerius to the Venetian humanist and printer Antonius Moretus, and certain topical references in the opening and closing portions were adjusted accordingly. In addition, the proposal for censorship of books was transformed from a demand for legislative coercion into a suggestion for voluntary self-regulation by members of the printing trade. The variant readings in this altered version are given in detail below. According to Carey S. Bliss, Curator of Rare Books at the Henry E. Huntington Library, who kindly provided information about this edition, the Huntington Library copy does not contain the commentary by Cornelius Vitellius which accompanied the Perottus text in the first edition and in most subsequent ones. BMC V, 326, attributes the Vitellius to this 1490 *Cornucopiae*;

but the British Museum copy lacks all of quire O, where both the Perottus and the Vitellius commentaries would have been printed. Thus the BMC entry is misleading concerning the contents of its own copy. BMC also errs in saying that the changes made in 1490 are found in all subsequent editions of the *Commentariolus*: the majority of them, including all the Aldines, retain the original form addressed to Franciscus Guarnerius. In the following list of editions, the form (Guarnerius or Moretus) is indicated if the information is available.

[*Commentariolus in prooemium Plinii.*] Nicolaus Perottus pontifex Sipontinus Francisco Guarnerio Salutem. (*ed. princeps*, undated but ca. 1470–1482; copy in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique). [*Inc.*]: Solebam nuper aetati nostrae gratulari, mi Francisce, quasi magnum quoddam ac vere divinum beneficium hac tempestate adepti essemus, ob novum scribendi genus e Germania nuper ad nos delatum. Videbam enim tantum uno mense ab uno homine hoc tempore imprimi literarum posse, quantum vix toto anno scribi alias a pluribus potuisset. Quod uno versu Campanus noster Aprutinus pontifex [Johannes Antonius Campanus, ca. 1427–1477, curial humanist and bishop of Teramo (episcopus Aprutinus)] elegantissime scripsit, “Imprimit ille die quantum non scribitur anno.” Ex qua re tantum brevi tempore librorum copiam sperabam, ut nullum superfuturum esset opus, quod vel ab inope atque egeno homine posset amplius desiderari. Hinc fore existimabam ut vigerent in dies magis ingenia hominum et florerent studia literarum, omnesque ad capessendas praeclaras artes tanta librorum commoditate allicerentur. Iam vero, o vanas hominum cogitationes! longe aliter quam sperabam video rem succedere. Nam cum liceat unicuique pro libidine animi sui quaecunque velit imprimere, fit ut et omissis saepenumero quae optima sunt, ea scribant placendi gratia quae obliterari potius ac deleri ex omnibus libris deberent. Et si quid scribunt boni, ita pervertant atque

corrumpant ut melius sit his libris carere quam in exemplaria mille transcriptos per orbis omnis provincias mittere, ne scilicet studiosis occasio det tot mendacia legendi. Quippe satius est vera ignorare quam falsa perdiscere, quemadmodum tacere verum minus peccatum est quam mentiri. Huius autem rei causa est non tam inscitia eorum qui imprimunt, quam negligentia, ne quid gravius dicam, quorundam qui se correctores ac magistros veterum librorum constituunt. Hi enim dum falsa existimant quae parum animadvertunt, pervertunt recte scripta et de summorum virorum operibus sententiam temere ferre non dubitant. O rem indignam in qua non modo graves viri et prudentes sed etiam qualescunque studiosi merito perturbentur! Non est facile ab his discedendum quae passim scripta reperiuntur, nec cum primum difficultatis aliquid accurrit errori ascribendum est, non rectum iter relinquendum ut devios sequamur anfractus, nec plana deserenda sunt ut per praecipitia labamur. Alioquin quae stultitia est tantum studium, tantam curam, et ut dicam, tantam sollicitudinem adhibere ut doctissimorum virorum libros depraves atque corrumpas. Neque me ista ad te velim existimes scribere, quod eorum laborem damnandum putem qui hanc corrigendorum librorum provinciam sumpserunt. Quin potius laudo doctrinam eorum, laudo studium, laudo laborem, sed quatenus modum non excedunt, hoc est quatenus nihil addunt de suo, sed vel aliis exemplaribus vel sententia ipsius auctoris alibi clarius expressa, vel eius scriptoris a quo id sumptum est auctoritate, vel explicata alicuius imitatione vel alterius linguae veritate aliquem locum emendant, quod nos nuper in Marco et Papinio fecimus. Aliter enim frustra eos tantum laboris haurire existimo. Frustra dixi, imo cum ingenti hominum detrimento, quandoquidem frequentius corrumpunt quam emendent. Quamquam illud quoque laudare vix possum, quod prooemia sua clarissimorum virorum libris inserunt. Quid enim turpius videri potest? Quid magis indignum, quam arae cloacam iungere? Non bene conveniunt

nec in una sede morantur maiestas et amor. Eo magis sordescit vitium quo vicinius est virtuti, eo deformior est turpis facies quo formosae proximior est. Quis autem eorum qui in praesentia vivunt tam temerarius sit ut ausit scripta sua et cum infimis veterum conferre? equidem in libris quos redemi omnibus tantam deformitatem non potui pati, sed vel abradi prooemia vel subtrahi, excepta Campani epistola quae et gravitate et facundia et brevitate digna visa est quae Plutarchi vitis praeponeretur.

Sed cur ista ad me scribis? inquires. Ut principem tuum Marcum Barbum cardinalem Vicentinum, virum non modo doctrina ac omni virtutis genere praestantem, sed faventem ingeniis, faventem studiis doctorum omnium praesidem et quasi Maecenatem alterum apud Caesarem ad providendum rei tam necessariae horteris atque inflammes. Provisio autem facillima est: ut auctoritate Pontificis Maximi unus aut alter huic muneri praeficiatur, qui et imprimendorum librorum legem impressoribus praescribat, et adhibeat aliquem mediocriter peritum qui singulas quasque tabellas ante impressionem examinet atque emendet. Summo praeterea studio curet ne primi isti correctores augurari aliquid temere ausint, sed modum quem paulo ante diximus servent. In his acre sit ingenium, singularis eruditio, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. Hoc si fiet, et multos habebimus libros et integros. In nulla re pulchrius, in nulla re dignius uti potes benevolentia principis tui. Ut autem manifestius ostendere ei possis correctorum nostrorum errores, recognosce quaeso mecum parumper quam multis in locis Plinianum prooemium depravaverint....

Sed iam prooemium ipsum videamus. [Inc.]: *Plinius Vespasiano suo salutem.* Praeponit auctor operi suo epistolam pro more scribentium, quam Tito divi Vespasiani filio scribit. Habent autem codices omnes *Vespasiano*. Corrector, quia animadverterat non posse epistolam ad patrem .../... [Expl.]: In libris quos *epoptidon* scripsit. In libris quos scripsit de spectacu-

lis. Hoc enim [blank space, for manuscript insertion of the Greek letters used by Pliny, ἐποπτιδων] significat quod verbum [another blank, replaced in later editions by ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐποπτιδων] deductum est, nam [blank, replaced in later editions by ὅψις] aspectus est. Liber ergo [blank, replaced in later editions by ἐποπτιδων] hoc est liber spectaculorum. Nescio qua ratione corrector non *epoptidon* sed *epoptendon* scripserit, nisi ut in penultimo quoque prooemii verbo erraret.

[The two preceding paragraphs represent *incipit* and *explicit* of the portion of the work which is commentary rather than letter. The letter to Franciscus Guarnerius then resumes:]

En igitur tibi absolvi, mi Francisce, quod a principio pollicitus fueram, et una cum expositione Pliniani prooemii, duos et viginti errores correctoris satis insignes ad te misi .../... [Expl.]: Tu vero, mi Francisce, quem et ingenio excelsum et natum altumque in literis, et optimarum artium studiis flagrantem omnes et norunt et praedicant, talem te in hoc opere praesta, ut intelligent universi neque consilium neque operam neque fidem tuam in re tam necessaria defuisse. Vale beneque et foelicit.

The following textual changes were introduced in Perottus' *Commentariolus* when the addressee was changed to Antonius Moretus in the edition of Venice, 1490, and in some later editions: Nicolai Perotti pontificis Sipontini in C. Plinii Secundi prooemium *Commentariolus*, in quo Ioannem Andream episcopum Allerensem duobus et viginti erroribus taxat. Ad Antonium Moretum. [Inc.]: Solebam nuper aetati nostrae gratulari, Mi Antoni, quasi .... [For the section "Sed cur ista ad me scribis? ... uti potes benevolentia principis tui," substitute the following:] Sed cur ista ad me scribis? inquires. Ut tu, qui praestas doctrina et faves ingeniis, impressoribus istius inclitae Venetiarum urbis suadeas eosdemque horteris ad providendum rei tam necessariae, ut unus aut alter huic muneri praeficiatur qui et imprimendorum librorum legem impressoribus prae-

scribat, et adhibeat aliquem mediocriter peritum qui singulas quasque tabellas ante impressionem examinet atque emendet, summo praeterea studio curet ne primi isti correctores augurari aliquid temere ausint, sed modum quem paulo ante diximus servant. In his acre sit ingenium, singularis eruditio, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. Hoc si fiet, et multos habebimus libros et integros . . . . [After the commentary proper, when the text resumes the form of a letter, for "En igitur tibi absolvi, mi Francisce, . . ." substitute:] En igitur tibi absolvi, mi Morete . . . . [At the very end, for "Tu vero, mi Francisce, . . ." substitute:] Tu vero, mi Antoni . . . .

Note: For each manuscript or edition below, the form of *Commentariolus* present will be indicated by giving the name of the addressee: Guarnerius or Moretus.

#### Manuscripts:

(\*) Mantua, Biblioteca Communale, MS. H I 35. With letters of Cardinal Bessarion, etc. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 275). Guarnerius.

(\*) Perugia, Badia di S. Pietro, MS. CM 53. With Laurentius Valla, *Repastinatio dialectice et philosophiae* (i.e., *Dialectica*), etc. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 53). Guarnerius.

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 297, misc., s. XV, membr. The first item is *Iacobi Pisaurii de octo partibus orationis*. (Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, roll no. 1391; Cosimo Stornajolo, ed., *Codices Urbinati Latini*, I, 266). Guarnerius.

#### Editions:

[n.d., ca. 1470–1482]. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1490, Venetiis (Venice): Baptista de Tortis. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HC 12698; Goff P-290; BMC V, 326; IGI 7421; Proctor 4640. BM; (CSmH; CtY; NN). Moretus.

1492, Venetiis (Venice): Bernardinus de Coris de Cremona. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HCR 12700; Goff P-291; BMC V, 466; IGI 7422; Proctor 5220; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922),

205. BM; BN; (CU; CtY; DLC; MH). Moretus.

(\*)1494, Venetiis (Venice): Philippus de Pinzis Mantuanus. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. H 12701; Goff P-292; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205; IGI 7423; Proctor 5302. (DLC; InU; MH). Moretus (reported by Thomas D. Burney, Assistant to the Chief, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress).

1494, Venetiis (Venice): Dionysius de Bertochis de Bononia. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HCR 12702; Goff P-293; BMC V, 489; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205; IGI 7424. BM; BN; (DFo; ICU; MH).

(\*)1496, Parisiis (Paris): Udalricus Gering and Bertholdus Rembolt. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HC 12703; Goff P-294; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205; IGI 7425; Polain 3050. BN; (CSmH). Moretus (reported by Carey S. Bliss, Curator of Rare Books, Henry E. Huntington Library).

1496, Venetiis (Venice): Joannes de Tridino, alias Tacuinus. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. H 12704; Goff P-295; BMC V, 531; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205; IGI 7426; Madsen 3093; Polain 3051; Proctor 5444. BM; BN; (CtY; DLC; NNC). Moretus.

1498, Mediolani (Milan): Uldericus Scinzenzeler. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HR 12705; BMC VI, 774–775; IGI 7427; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. BM. Moretus.

1499. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

(\*)1500, Parisiis (Paris): Udalricus Gering and Bertholdus Rembolt. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. HC 12707; Goff P-297; Proctor 8312; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. BN; (PSt). Moretus (reported by Sandra K. Stelts, Rare Books and Special Collections, Patee Library, Pennsylvania State University).

1501, Venetiis. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

(\*)1501. Lugduni (Lyons): Jacobus Mailletus. Appended to Perottus, *Cornucopiae*, without text of Pliny. Panzer VII, 275–276, 1; NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205. (MH; MiD). Moretus (reported by Gloria A. Francis, Chief, Gifts and Rare Books Division, Detroit Public Library, and by W. H. Bond, Librarian, The Houghton Library, Harvard University). Graesse errs in regarding this as a reprint of the Aldine edition of 1499, since in that case, the text would be in the variant form addressed to Guarnerius.

1504, Parisii. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1504, Venetiis. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius (reported by Mrs. Sandra Williams, The Alcuin Library, St. John's University).

1506, [Strasbourg]. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1506, Mediolani. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1507, Parisiis. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1507, Mediolani. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1508. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1510. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1513. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1514. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1517. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1519. See above, Composite Editions. Moretus.

1521. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1522. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1526. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1527. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1532. See above, Composite Editions. Guarnerius.

1536, Basileae. See above, Composite

Editions. Guarnerius (reported by W. H. Bond, Librarian, The Houghton Library, Harvard University).

#### *Doubtful Editions:*

1494, Parisiis (Paris): Udalricus Gering and Berchtoldus Rembolt. Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 205, is the only source. He mentions no Pliny commentaries, but the edition Paris, 1496, by the same publishers contains Perottus' *Commentariolus* in the form addressed to Moretus. The commentary by Vitellius, often found after Perottus in editions of the *Cornucopiae*, would probably not have been included, by analogy from the 1496 edition and also by the lack of any other edition of *Cornucopiae* containing it until the Aldine edition of 1499.

1502. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1511. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1512. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1528. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1529. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC III, 7.

### 3. CORNELIUS VITELLIUS

The humanist Cornelius Vitellius produced two distinct works dealing with Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, one of them a commentary in the form of a letter addressed to Parthenius Benacensis, and the other a controversial tract directed against the rival humanist Georgius Merula and having many of the characteristics of a commentary. See above, *Fortuna*, for a brief discussion of this controversy.

The letter-commentary addressed to Parthenius Benacensis covers only the *Praefatio* of Pliny's work. It must have been written shortly after the *Commentariolus in prooemium Plinii* of Nicolaus Perottus, to which it refers; and it was first printed as an annex to the first edition of that work (an undated edition which bibliographers var-

iously place between 1470 and 1482). Since Perottus' *Commentariolus* was probably written between 1470 and 1473, the work of Vitellius may be set at about 1473.

The second work of Vitellius, *In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam*, begins as a tract rather than as a commentary, but the body of the work consists of extended exposition of specific passages of Pliny's text. Hence it will be treated here as a second commentary. It can be dated rather closely to the period between late summer of 1481 and autumn of 1482, since it refers to an event of 31 July 1481 (the death of the humanist Franciscus Philelphus) and since Merula's supporter Paulus Romuleius published a rebuttal at Venice on 14 November 1482. Goff (V-305) conjecturally dates the first edition of this second Vitellius commentary in 1481-1482. Both of Vitellius' works on Pliny were completed in Italy, the first at Padua and the second either there or at Venice, several years before the author left to pursue his career as a humanist in France and England.

1. The letter-commentary addressed to Parthenius Benacensis.

Cornelius Vitellius Parthenio Benacensi suo salutem (undated first edition of Nicolaus Perottus, [*Commentariolus in prooemium Plinii*,] probably Venice, 1470-1482). [*Inc.*]: Data est mihi tandem ex negotiis facultas Sipontini [i.e., Perotti] libellum perlegendi, quo Plinii in naturali historia ad Titum Vespasianum epistolam corrigit simul et interpretatur. Qui ut aperte dicam quod sentio visus est mihi magna diligentia, maiori ingenio tanti operis initium multis in locis castigasse; quod profecto a titulo ipso usque ad calcem correctorum pariter et impressorum incuria adeo depravatum erat ut doctissimi ac prope divini auctoris nomine et ingenio vix dignum videretur. Verum dum in Aleriensem episcopum, qui primus omnium impressoribus Romanis Plinium recognovit, vehemens fertur, caecus, ne aliter dicam, quaedam meo iudicio parum animadvertit ac frigide interpretatus est. Quos locos, Partheni dulcissime, notavi omnes, non

malivolentia et odio aut ambitione aliqua, neque enim is sum qui alieni ingenii obtrectatione mihi famam quaeram, sed ut bonae me fidei esse cognoscas. Hac enim proxima aestate, cum libellum illum mihi legendum Venetiis dedisses negaremque tunc me illum posse evolvere, dixi ut scis laturum mecum Patavium, hac conditione ut cum primum possem, quid de eo sentirem ad te scriberem. Quod si tardius opinione tua factum est, negotiis quibus plus nimio dstringor imputabis.

Sed de his satis. Parum enim peccat cuius fides tempore tantum lapsa est. Nunc ad Plinium. Qui cum causas addit, cur Titum imperatorem vivo patre Vespasiano appellet, verebatur enim ne Tito hac appellatione stomachum faceret.../...

[*Expl.*]: Sequitur Plinius. *Apud Graecos desit nugari Diodorus [Praefatio, 25].* quia scilicet non festivore titulo sed operi suo apto et convenienti usus est. Diodorus enim omnem historiam ab initio mundi usque ad Divi Iulii Caesaris tempora quadraginta libris complexus, bibliothecas histori[c]as inscripsit.

[Letter form of address resumes.] Haec sunt Partheni quae mihi in epistola Plinii a Sipontino parum animadversa videntur. Te vero et Bergomatem Raphaellem nostrum hac in re iudices deligo, hac tamen conditione, ut Plinio in manibus sumpto haec omnia ingenii vestri acumine, quod quam maximum in utroque cognosco, perpendatis et, si fortasse placebunt, ea compositiora et Latiniora faciatis; sin minus, pro nostra summa iam vetere amicitia oro obsecroque flammis urenda tradatis. Vale et me mutuo ama.

*Manuscript:*

(\*) Perugia, Badia di S. Pietro, MS. CM 53. With Laurentius Valla, *Repastinatio dialecticae et philosophiae* (i.e., *Dialectica*), etc. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 53.)

*Editions:*

[N.d., n.p. (Venice? 1470-1482?)]. See above, Composite Editions.

1499. See above, Composite Editions.

1500. See above, Composite Editions.

1501. See above, Composite Editions.

1504, Parisiis. See above, Composite Editions.

1504, Venetiis. See above, Composite Editions.

1506, [Strasbourg]. See above, Composite Editions.

1506, Mediolani. See above, Composite Editions.

1507, Parisiis. See above, Composite Editions.

1507, Mediolani. See above, Composite Editions.

1508. See above, Composite Editions.

1510. See above, Composite Editions.

1513. See above, Composite Editions.

1514. See above, Composite Editions.

1517. See above, Composite Editions.

1519. See above, Composite Editions.

1521. See above, Composite Editions.

1522. See above, Composite Editions.

1526. See above, Composite Editions.

1527. See above, Composite Editions.

1532. See above, Composite Editions.

1536, Basileae. See above, Composite Editions.

*Doubtful Editions:*

1501. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1502. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1511. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1512. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1528. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

1529. See above, Doubtful Composite Editions.

*2. In defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam.*

Cornelii Vitellii Corythii in defensionem Plinii et Domitii Calderini contra Georgium Merulam Alexandrinum ad Hermolaum Barbarum omnium disciplinarum scientia praeditum Epistola. (ed. [1481-1482]) [*Inc.*]: Hac proxima aestate, Hermolae doctissime, cum xenia et apophoreta Martialis, opus sane difficile, ut cuius interpretatio varia veterum auctorum lectione indigeat, quibusdam

patriciis iuvenibus exponerem, volui Georgii Alexandrini annotationes in expositionem Martialis, vel invectivam potius in Domitium Calderinum, virum longe doctissimum et lectionis antiquae non mediocriter studiosum, excutere, eo consilio ut aliquid inde exciperem quod ad Martialis lectionem mihi adiumento esset. At dii boni! quam longe aliter quam putaram accidit. Nam praeterquam quod nullum fere est Martialis carmen ad cuius sensum perveniat, sed insolenti tantum dicacitate et maledictis (ut mos est Merulae) in eum ipsum Domitium invehitur, Plinium multis in locis ita depravat, ita confundit et conturbat ut nullum fere verbum non a se depravatum sit, et quod haudquam ferendum est, perdita quadam arrogantia et dementi elatione Plinium a se uno tantum in pristinam et veram lectionem redigi posse iactat, ac dum se antiquarium ostendere vult, de iudiciis, ludis Romanis, de iure Latii, municipiis et coloniis meras insanias effutit. . . . Verum cum aliquibus ex ipsius auditoribus quaedam ex his quae in Plinio corruperat forte ostendissem, illique omnia ei detulissent, excanduit primum ac obstitit repugnans; deinde cum illi ingeniosi sane iuvenes nec mediocriter docti manifestis argumentis hominem urgerent, cogniti tandem erroris hominum quamvis inverecundum subpuduit. Putavit hac re homo ingratisissimus se magna a me iniuria affectum, nam illi me auctorem dixerant. Itaque quasi mihi gratiam relaturus, ad solita sua arma recurrit et in me maledictis et fatua sua dicacitate invasit. . . . Cui enim parcere potest Georgius, qui ne praeceptoris quidem pepercit? Nam in tam ravidam insaniam incidit ut ea de Philelpho praeceptore suo, viro in utraque lingua doctissimo, scripserit, quae de sordidissimo lenone et spurcissima sentina parricidaeque crudelissimo dici possent; qua discipuli insolentissimi ingratitude commotus, ut par erat, octogenarius senex tanto dolore conflictatus est ut triduo vitam exhalaverit. . . . Quamobrem cum hominem tam temerarium, audacem, impium, perditum in me convitiis grassantem viderem, non absurdum putavi si aliquantum maledico conviciatori non ferendam dicaci-



tatem excuterem, et maxime si id non sine aliquo rei litterariae emolumento fieret. Itaque collegi locos aliquot invectivae ipsius in Calderinum, in quibus fatuum litteratorem errasse luce clarius ostendimus. Sed haec quidem praelusio quaedam erit, non enim in praesens copias omnes educere decrevimus, sed his paucis tanquam levi (ut aiunt) armatura praeludium inceptantes missilibus velutum more hostem petemus.... Is enim qui caeteros insectari et mordere non cessat, repungi aliquando et vapulare ut discat par est.

Sed iam ad Plinium, qui a Georgio depravatus, a se initium fieri exclamat. *Vulva eiectitia et porcaria*. Plinius libro xi, capite xxxvii, de historia animalium. *Vulva eiecto partu...occidere non assueti* (XI, 210-211). Haec est vera, constans et incorrupta Plinii lectio, non similis ei quam confuse et implicite, falso et perverse, indocte et petulanter Georgius Merula.... [*Expl.*]: *Quare rudis sinuessa* (probably an oblique reference to XXXI, 8). Haec silentio praetereundum est quod alibi somniculosus interpret Georgius ut graculus crocitavit super Martialis epigrammate quod est

Hetrusci nisi thermulis laveris /... Quibus si se lavisset Merula, non tam vehementi delirio vexaretur, quo percitus in bonos et litteratos viros bonarum litterarum omnium ignarus ipse allatrationibus ineptis invehitur.

Haec sunt in quibus Georgium Merulam, dum in Domitium Calderinum dicaciter nimis ac licenter invehitur, in Plinium et Martialem vehementer errasse abunde satis, ut credo, ostendi.../...[*Expl.*]: et in invectiva in Galeottum Latinum sermonem non servasse, et si omnium impudentissimus est, ut tamen eum pudeat necesse erit.

*Editions:*

[1481-1482, Venice: Baptista de Tortis?]. With his *De dierum, mensium annorumque observatione*. CR 6267; Goff V-305; BMC V, 321; Proctor 4618; IGI 10344; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, *Catálogo*, VII, 226. BM; BN; (C-S; CSmH; DFo).

1511. See above, Composite Editions.

1602. See above, Composite Editions.

1737-1751. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Cornelius Vitellius (Cornelio Vitelli) was born at Cortona in Tuscany about 1450; the date and place of his death are unknown, but he probably died about the turn of the century. He is best known as one of the expatriate Italian humanists who fostered the growth of humanistic studies in France and England in the late fifteenth century. His early career is obscure. Even the name of his master is not recorded, and there is no evidence to support the claim of Apostolo Zeno (*Diss. Voss.* II, 64) that he was a member of the Roman Academy of Pomponius Laetus. References in his works show that he taught (apparently only in a private capacity) at Venice, and perhaps at Padua. The bitter controversy over Pliny with Georgius Merula and Paulus Romuleius may have encouraged him to try his fortunes in France. He arrived at Paris in 1488 and was one of three Italians given a limited permission to lecture in the University. Late in 1489 or early in 1490, he moved to England, where he probably first settled in London and tried to attract the favor of King Henry VII. Late in 1490 he moved to Oxford, where he finally scored considerable success as a humanist lecturer, leaving behind a reputation as an able teacher of Greek and Latin.

*Works:* In addition to his two works on Pliny, he published a brief treatise dealing with Roman practice in measuring time, *De dierum, mensium annorumque observatione* (printed with his *In defensionem Plinii*, 1481-82).

*Bibl.:* Cosenza IV, 3703, and V, 1902-1903; Tiraboschi VI, 1646-1647.

Roberto Weiss, "Cornelio Vitelli in France and England," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 2 (1938-1939), 219-226; Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1957), pp. 136, 173-174.

4. PHILIPPUS BEROALDUS THE ELDER

The humanist Philippus Beroaldus pro-



duced two sets of published annotations on the *Naturalis historia*, a text with which he appears to have been concerned through much of his career. The first, originally in the form of a letter addressed to Nicolaus Ravacaldus, canon of Parma, was no doubt prepared in justification of the textual changes which Beroaldus introduced in his edition of Pliny (Parma: Stephanus Corallus, 1476). Thus it can be dated after the appearance in 1470 of the edition by Johannes Andreas de Bussis, Bishop of Aleria (Rome: Conradus Sweynheym and Arnoldus Pannartz, 1470), of which it is critical, and before completion of copy for the 1476 edition to which Beroaldus appended it. In the commentary, Beroaldus expressed his dissatisfaction with previous editions of Pliny and explained his own principles of editorial revision. This original version of the commentary is here designated as Version A.

Beginning with the edition of the commentary published with *Naturalis historia* in 1480 (Parma: Andreas Portilia), the epistolary portions addressed to Ravacaldus (that is, the beginning and concluding passages of the original commentary) were dropped, suppressing not only the name of Ravacaldus but often also the name of Beroaldus himself, in almost all subsequent editions. This shortened form of the commentary is here designated as Version B. All of its text is contained within the text of Version A. The commentary covers selected passages chosen from all parts of *Naturalis historia*. It was written at Bologna and Parma.

In addition to this commentary, Beroaldus dealt with other passages of Pliny in a work discussing the writings of several classical authors, his *Annotationes* (1488). Two sections of this work may be regarded as a supplement to the earlier commentary and are here included as a second commentary.

A manuscript at Trier, kindly brought to my attention by Professor Virginia Brown of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto, demonstrates that Beroaldus' work on the text of Pliny included the *Praefatio*, which is not covered in the two printed commentaries. This third commen-

tary, which is probably contemporaneous with the other two in composition, appears to have been copied down by a German student of Beroaldus, Richard Graman, and is headed by the title *Explanatio epistolae Plinii ante naturalis historiae libros positae sub Philippo Beroaldo collecta*. Although this item (on fols. 245<sup>r</sup>-246<sup>r</sup> of Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 1110) is undated, other materials copied by Graman in the same codex are dated 1480. The photocopy available to me is almost illegible, but Professor Brown kindly supplied the little bit that can be read from her microfilm of the manuscript. I list these readings below and plan to supply a more complete text in an Addendum to appear in a later volume of CTC. For additional information on Graman, see p. 467-69 below.

a. The commentary of 1476.

Version A (ed. of Parma, 1476). Ad venerabilem et ornatissimum virum Nicolaum Ravacaldum canonicum Parmensem, Philippi Broaldi [*sic*] Bononiensis epistola. [*Inc.*]: Publium Nigidium, cui figularis rota Figuli cognomen imposuit, hominem doctrinarum multiformium variarumque artium scientia clarissimum. . . . [A note concerning previous editions of Pliny:] Quae omnia partim librariorum negligentia, partim correctorum inscitia, et ne quid dicam contumeliosius, ignava opera provenisse existimo. Ut igitur pro virili parte iuvarem Latinae linguae sectatores, Pliniumque suis hoc est eruditissimis verbis audiremus loquentem, elaboravi vehementer curioseque enisus sum errores, qui innumerabiles depredebantur, emendare et in suam hoc est Plinianam linguam traducere. Quod ferme videor assecutus, partim fidelioribus inspectis Plinianis codicibus, partim veterum scriptorum auctoritate qui id de quo ambigebatur in Plinio referentes vel ab illo vel ab aliis acceptum ita clare, ita aperte tradiderunt ut ipsi magis quam nos emendare viderentur, partim Plinii ipsius testimonio, [qui] quod uno in loco breviter et subobscurè dixerat, alibi effusius narrat et apertius. Sed ne nostram hanc emendationem magis arroganter iactare quam probationibus veris confirmare

existimer, institui locorum quorundam cur ita correxerim hac epistola strictim rationem referre. Omnia enim quis possit cum sexcenta sint et voluminum opere explicanda? Ea vero attingere conati sumus, quae nostris adhuc fuerint intentata, ne vulgarem viam ingressi alienis demum vestigiis insistere videamur. . . . Sed ne longius quam res exigit nostra procurrat oratio, iam enarrationem locorum qui mihi forte occurrerunt exordiar, quae res locupletissimum recognitionis Pliniana testimonium exhibebit. [The commentary proper, here designated as Form B, follows, and in turn is followed in Form A by a continuation of the letter to Ravacaldus:] Mihi vero in animo est diis bene iuvantibus, Pliniana vocabula a vulgo profano remota omniaque abstrusa et in eo recondita volumine complecti, et breviter enarrare ad iuvandos litterarii studii curiosos, et in primis amatores Pliniana eruditionis. Tunc compendiose annotare conabor qui indices, quae hominum nomina fuerint in Plinio depravata inversaque. Verum haec obiter pauca de multis dictavimus, quae tibi, suavissime Nicolae, balnea assumenti et medicatis aquis, quae cum Baianis Sinuessanisque salubritate contendunt, corpus curanti mitto. . . . [Expl.]: Quamobrem si tu haec non improbaveris, coelum, ut in proverbio est, digito attingere me putabo et undique tutus contingere sidera plantis. Vale amantissime mi Nicolae, et Phillippum tuum dilige.

Version B (the actual text of the commentary). *Commentary* (ed. of Parma, 1476). [Inc.]: In libro tertio, ubi sermo fit de Latinis populis, ita scriptum habent mendosi codices: *Cum his carmen in monte Albano soliti accipere populi Albenses* (III, 69). In spectatae fidei libris non *carmen* scriptum est sed *carnem*. . . . [Expl.]: In vigesimo primo nec hoc quidem praeteribo: proprium pictoris nomen depravatum est ubi sic legitur: *Sicyon ex ingenio Pausiani* (XXI, 4). Nos vero docente Plinio correximus: *Ex ingenio Pausiae*. . . . Caeterum non hoc solum hominis nomen in Plinio depravatum legitur. Id enim levissime ferendum foret, sed tot ego deprendi inversa et ab historiae fide discre-

pantia ut ista privatum volumen non epistolam requirant.

*Editions of First Commentary:*

1476, Parmae (Parma): Stephanus Corallus. Version A, with text of Pliny. HC 13091; Goff P-790; BMC VII, 939; IGI 7882; Proctor 6842; Brunet, *Manuel* VI<sup>1</sup>, 714. BM; BN; (CSmH; DLC; MH).

1479, Tervisii (Treviso): Michael Manzolus. Version A, with text of Pliny. HC 13092; Goff P-791; BMC VI, 888; IGI 7883; Proctor 6472; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 714. BM; BN; (DLC; NN; MiU).

1480, Parmae (Parma): Andreas Portilia. Version B, with text of Pliny. HC 13093; Goff P-792; BMC VII, 936-937; IGI 7884; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 715. BM; BN; (CtY).

1481, Parmae (Parma): Andreas Portilia. Version B, with text of Pliny. HC 13094; Goff P-793; BMC VII, 937; IGI 7885; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 714-715. BM; BN; (MH; ICN; DLC).

1483, Venetiis (Venice): Rainaldus de Novimagio. Version B, with text of Pliny. HC 13095; Goff P-794; BMC V, 257-258; IGI 7886; Pol. 3200; Proctor 4445; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 715. BM; BN; (CSmH; DLC; KU).

1487, Venetiis (Venice): Marinus Saracenus. Version B, with text of Pliny. HC 13096; Goff P-795; BMC V, 413-414; IGI 7887; Pol. 3201; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 715; Proctor 5157. BM; BN; (CSmH; DLC; ICN).

1491, Venetiis (Venice): Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria. Version B, with text of Pliny. HC 13097; Goff P-796; BMC V, 319; IGI 7888; Proctor 4768; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 715. BM; BN; (CtY; NNC).

1496, Brixiae (Brescia): Bernardinus Misinta. Version B, comm. only, in Beroaldus, *Ecce tibi lector humanissime, Philippi Beroaldi Annotationes centum*, with other works of Beroaldus and works of other authors. GW 4114; HC 2946; Goff B-465; BMC VII, 991; IGI 1583; Pell. 2209. BM; BN; (CtY; MBM; PPC).

1497. See above, Composite Editions.

1502. See above, Composite Editions.

1508. See above, Composite Editions.

1511. See above, Composite Editions.

1516. See above, Composite Editions. Version A. Materials from Beroaldus also appear in the accompanying variorum commentary by Nicolaus Beraldus (*q. v.*, below).

1602. See above, Composite Editions.

1739–1751. See above, Composite Editions.

*b.* The commentary in the *Annotationes centum*.

*Commentary*, in two sections of *Annotationes centum* (ed. of Bologna, 1488). [*Inc.*]: In quibusdam Plinianis annotationibus quas paene puer edidi, Ceretanas pernas a Martiale nominari scripsi, non propter Cerites Etruriae populos.../... [*Expl.*]: et ita ceretanas pernas et vina ceretana nominari, scito a Martiale non ab Etruscis ceretibus sed ab Hispanis ceretanis. (fol. b4<sup>v</sup>).

*Second section*: [*Inc.*]: Apud Plinium libro secundo (II, 176) naturalis historiae, verbum vetus est neque protritum neque invulgatum ita scribentem, “nisi terra in medio esset, aequales dies noctesque habere non posse deprunderunt *et dioptrae*. Ut autem intelligas quid dioptrae significent.../... [*Expl.*]: Sed hactenus de Plinianis mendis et obscuritatibus, quae omnia ferme peculiari volumine privatim annotamus, quod (ut speramus) neque inutile neque iniucundum erit sectoribus Plinianae eruditionis. Sed iam ad alios [auctores] transeamus. (fols. e3<sup>v</sup>–f1<sup>r</sup>).

*Editions of Second Commentary*:

1488, Bononiae (Bologna): impressae ... in commune a Benedicto Hectoris librario et Platone de Benedictis impressore (comm. only). With his notes on other authors. GW 4113; HC 2943; Goff B-464; BMC VI, 823, IGI 1582; Proctor 6584. BM; BN; (CtY; MBM; ICN).

Also, with the first commentary, in the following editions listed for that text: 1496, 1502, 1508, 1511, 1602, and 1739–1751. Materials from this commentary are included in the variorum commentary published by Nicolaus Beraldus in 1516 (*q. v.*, below).

*c.* *Explanatio epistolae Plinii ante naturalis historiae libros positae sub Philippo Beroaldo Bononiensi collecta.*

[*Inc.*]: C. Pli[nii] Secundi Veronensis Tito Vespasiano salutem. *Novicium* (Praef. 1). Novissimum ultimum.../... [*Expl.*]: *Larvas* (Praef. 31). Umbras leviores.

*Manuscript*:

(micro.) Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 1110 (2037), fols. 245<sup>r</sup>–246<sup>r</sup>. In a miscellaneous volume of texts, mostly by Pomponius Laetus, copied in the hand of Richard Graman. The dated materials in Graman’s hand are from the year 1480. For full information on this manuscript, see p. 467–69 below.

*Biography*:

See CTC III, 188.

## 5. BARTHOLOMAEUS PLATINA

Although the Roman humanist and historian Bartholomaeus Platina was one of the first Italian humanists to exploit the new art of printing, his *De naturali historia Platinae epitome* remained unprinted and perhaps, since the surviving manuscript contains only Books II–V, also uncompleted. The date of the work is not recorded and can only be set within the author’s lifetime (1421–1481)—probably, in view of its incomplete state, toward the end of his life, though his interest in ancient Rome and its literature was so intense and so persistent that the work could have been done at any period of his adult life. If the recipient of the dedication is correctly identified as Augustinus Maffei (the manuscript may read Albertinus), whose dates are 1460–1525, then the *Epitome* must be dated late in Platina’s life, perhaps about 1480.

(Book I is represented only by about a page of chapter-headings, with the title: Ex primo C. Plinii Secundi libro de naturali historia Platinae epitome et primum incipit.)

*Dedication*: Platina Augustino [or Albertino] Maffeo S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Cum Plinii Secundi acre ingenium, summam vigilantiam, excellentem doctrinam, incredibile studium miris laudibus fere quotidie celebraremus propter diffusum, varium, acutum et de naturali historia opus quod in manibus habebamus, rogasti me (verecunde quidem), ac si mortuo fuerit iniuria, ut tantorum

voluminum et epitomen facerem. . . . Verum abs te Augustine [or Albertine] hoc unum posco, ut et hos commentarios tecum habeas, tecum deferas, si coieris tecum lectitare neque aliis nisi amicis, et quorum spectata modestia sit, permittas [or praemitas], ne in voculas malivolorum incidant. Reliquosque si qui forte petierint, ad integros Plinii libros remittas ne obmisso fonte ad rivulos sitim deponant. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Illic enim quid legas, quid praecipias, quid ediscas, copiosius intueberis his veluti quibusdam praeludiis excitato ad docilitatem animo.

*Commentary, Book II:* [Inc.]: De Mondo [sic] (II, 1) Capitulum 1. Mondum [sic] et hoc quodcunque caelum alio nomine appellare libuit cuius circumflexu degunt cuncta, nomen esse credi par est, aeternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interitum unquam, huius extera indagare. . . / . . . [Expl. Book II]: Idem accidisse Lucio Martio post [word lost by hole in paper] Scipionum in Hispania concionanti Valerius Ancianus [?] noverat.

*Commentary, Books III–V* (unlike Book II, which is expounded in some detail, these books are presented sketchily; the exposition consists of little more than lists of topics, with occasional introductory passages when there is a transition from one geographical region to another). C. Plinii Secundi de naturali historia cosmographiae liber secundus (beginning III, 6). [Inc.]: Hispania ulterior a latere septentrionali protenditur, a Lusitania amne Ana dividitur ex una parte oceano Atlantico. . . / . . . [Expl. (supposedly in Book V, but actually with a specific reference to materials in III, 76–79)]: Colubraria insula post Baleares. Ebusus et cuniculos gignit qui populantur messes Balearium. Sunt et aliae XX. ferme parvae insulae in ostio Ibodani Bascorum vocant[ur].

*Manuscript:*

London, British Museum, MS. Harley 3475, s. XV, paper, 40 leaves. Commentary only, Books II–V. (*Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III [1808], 31.)

*Biography:*

Bartholomaeus Platina (Bartolomeo Sacchi), Italian humanist and historian, was born at Piadena (in Latin, Platina) near Cremona in 1421 and died at Rome on 21 September 1481. After first being a soldier under Francesco Sforza and Piccinino, he turned to scholarship as tutor to the children of Ludovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua. He apparently intended to study in Greece (receiving a passport in 1456 for that purpose) but instead went to Florence, where he studied Greek (1457–1461) under John Argyropoulos. In 1462 he accompanied his patron Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga to Rome, where, aided by the favor of Cardinals Besarion and Piccolomini, he was appointed a papal abbreviator by Pope Pius II. He was a member of the Roman Academy of the humanist Pomponius Laetus. Together with the other humanist abbreviators, he was dismissed upon the accession of Pope Paul II in 1464, and his open protests led to his arrest. The most famous incident in his life was his arrest (together with several other members of the Roman Academy) by Paul II in 1468 on charges of neopagan heresy, though the pope's real motive was probably fear of conspiracy. Restored to favor by Pope Sixtus IV, he became Vatican librarian, succeeding the Pliny editor Giovanni Andrea de'Bussi, Bishop of Aleria. He also assisted the newly established printing firm of Sweynheym and Pannartz as editor and proofreader. In addition to Argyropoulos, he had as his master the humanist Omnibonus Leonicens, with whom he studied at Mantua.

*Works:* His most important work was his history of the popes, *Liber de vita Christi ac pontificum omnium* (written in 1474, first printed in 1479), important as a contemporary account of the fifteenth-century papacy but also as an example of historiographical revenge on the reputation of his enemy Paul II. He also wrote lives of Vittorino da Feltre, Cardinal Giovanni Bellini, and Neri Capponi and a panegyric of Cardinal Besarion; a *Historia inclytae urbis Mantuae et serenissimae familiae Gonzagae* (not pub-

lished until 1675); *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* (1475); *De flosculis quibusdam linguae Latinae* and *Dialogus de amore* (together, 1480); several short works, *Dialogus de falso et vero bono*, *De vera nobilitate*, *De optimo cive*, and others, published in 1505; and *De principe viro* (published in 1606).

*Bibl.*: Bayle XII, 162–169; Cosenza IV, 2839–2846 and V, 1436–1438; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXVII, 507; Jöcher III, 1623–1624; Charles G. Nauert, Jr., in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* XI, 430; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, XL, 418–419; Weiss, in *Biographie Universelle*, XXXIII, 489–491.

Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (3rd ed.; Berlin, 1936; reprint, New York, 1968), pp. 47–49; Eugenio Garin, *Filosofi italiani del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1942); Vladimir Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto* (2 vols.; Rome, 1909–1912), vol. I; for a critical text of *Liber de vita Christi* and an extensive bio-bibliographical introduction by Giacinto Gaida, see L. A. Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (nuova ed., by Giosuè Carducci et al.), Tomo III, Parte I (Città di Castello, 1913), especially pp. IX–XXXIV for Platina's biography.

## 6. RAPHAEL REGIUS

This short commentary, covering *Praefatio* and scattered passages from various books as they had been treated by Georgius Merula, must have been completed by 6 March 1490, date of the author's dedication to the Venetian senator Dominicus Grimanus (Domenico Grimani). It was probably written at Padua, where Regius lived from 1482 until he moved to Venice about 1492. Regius was as famed for his combativeness and resultant quarrels with rival humanists as he was for his learning. Although this little commentary is merely expository, it was published as part of a volume intended to attack the reputation of one of the author's rivals, Georgius Merula.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1490). Raphael Regius Dominico Grimanno patricio Veneto equiti splendidissimo senatorique sapientis-

simo salutem. [*Inc.*]: Cum inter loquendum de quorundam expositionibus in illam Plinii maioris elegantem acutissimamque epistolam mentionem fecissemus, sane quam familiariter a me petisti ut epistolam ipsam ego quoque breviter enarrarem. .../... [*Expl.*]: Quod si de quoquam epistolae illius loco fortasse dubitas, expositionum varietatem in causa esse facile contenderim. Adeo nanque inconstantes quidam in illa exponenda deprehenduntur ut perquam difficile sit iudicatu, plus ne conferant an magis noceant Pliniana eloquentiae studiosis. Nos vero susceptam provinciam ita sumus executi ut quae ab aliis recte sunt exposita approbentur, quae minus bene dicta refutentur. Tu an recte in plerisque difficilioribus locis a communi fere expositione dissentiam, si nostra cum aliorum scriptis contuleris, pulcherrime diiudicabis. Vale eximium studiorum decus. Paduae, pridie nonas Martias, MCCCCLXXXX.

*Commentary on Praefatio.* In Plinii maioris epistolam ad Titum Vespasianum Raphaelis Regii enarrationes. [*Inc.*]: In operis huius inscriptione Plinius Aristotelem imitatus esse videtur. Ut enim ille quinquaginta de animalibus volumina historias animalium inscripsit, sic Plinius de rerum natura libros naturalem historiam nuncupavit.../... [*Expl.*]: et ubi docti viri sint, nunquam hiscere audeat nisi a se velit Plinium eiusque studiosos meritis tantorum criminum poenas exigere.

The preceding commentary is followed by an attack on the humanist Georgius Merula. This is not a commentary, but it does focus its accusations on Merula's alleged misunderstanding of Pliny and Martial; and it opens with a section on one particular passage from *Naturalis historia*. [*Inc.*]: Plinius libro xiii, capite xi, de gummi generibus et papyro: *Prius tamen quam digrediamur ab Aegypto et papyri natura... linteis confici coepta aut ceris* (XIII, 68–69). Haec Plinii. Georgius vero Merula, novarum semper rerum inventor, lectionis Plinii non minus destructor quam eius doctrinae et gloriae inimicissimus.../... [*Expl.*]: qui sicut imprudenter et inconsiderate fertur,

sic frequenter et graviter cespitare et cadere consuevit.

*Edition:*

1490, Venetiis (Venice): Gulielmus Tridensis, cognomento Anima mea. With his notes on Persius, Valerius Maximus, Cicero, and Quintilian. HC 13810; Goff R-116; BMC V, 411-412; IGI 8315; Proctor 5111; Graesse, *Trésor* VI (1922), 65. BM; BN; (DLC; ICN; MH).

*Biography:*

See CTC III, 270.

Add to Biography: In 1486 his rival Calphurnius managed to force him out of his professorship at Padua, but he continued to live there until about 1492, when he moved to Venice. In 1503 he regained his chair at Padua; and when Erasmus visited there in 1506, he regarded Regius, then quite aged, as the only person of consequence then active in that university (Allen V, 244, no. 1347).

Add to Bibliography: P. S. Allen, ed., *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, II, 314-315, no. 450, note, and V, 237-250, no. 1347; Fabricius, BLMA VI, 50-51; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.*, II, 415.

## 7. HERMOLAUS BARBARUS

This influential commentary is in two parts, each covering the whole text of *Naturalis historia*. The author dedicated the *Castigationes primae* to Pope Alexander VI on 25 August 1492, and the second set to the same pope on 13 January 1493. To the second part, compiled at the request of his young friends at the end of 1492 and published in 1493, he added his *Emendatio in Melam Pomponium*, a geographical work closely related to Pliny, and his own glossary of Plinian terminology. These *Glossemata*, despite their alphabetical form, do expound the meaning of Pliny and were conceived by the author as a commentary. Hence this work is treated as an additional commentary, constituting the third part of the author's total work on Pliny. Barbarus' work on the text of Pliny seems to go back as far as 1488, when he was Venetian ambassador to Milan;

but essentially the commentary was written after he came to Rome as Venetian ambassador early in 1490, largely between 1491 and 1493. In his first dedicatory epistle, he states explicitly that he began the work before consecration as Patriarch of Aquileia (6 March 1491, according to Eubel, *Hierarchia* II, 92). Barbarus claimed in the work itself to have completed the first part in twenty months and the second in a month and a half. News that the humanist Sabellicus had a similar project in hand speeded his work. The commentary of Barbarus is the earliest really important commentary to cover the whole text in detail, offering nearly five thousand textual emendations and influencing later editors and commentators down to modern times. The edition of Pliny's text by Johannes Baptista Palmarius in 1497-1498 (it is dated at Venice, 1497, but this dating appears to rest on a calendar which did not begin the new year on 1 January) claims to be "e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari" and is in fact important because the editor systematically introduced Barbarus' many emendations (or if rejecting them, recorded them in the marginal gloss as variants) into the text. Many subsequent editions claim to be "e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari," a claim which has caused some confusion among bibliographers, who have falsely assumed that the edition of Palmarius and its successors contained Barbarus' *Castigationes* themselves. Barbarus explicitly based his emendations on the 1472 (Venice: Jenson) and 1473 (Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz) editions of Pliny, the work respectively of Johannes Andreas de Bussis, Bishop of Aleria, and Nicolaus Perottus as editors. Although he did not specify his manuscript sources, he did justify many of his emendations by referring to *vetus lectio* or *codices vetusti*.

Dedication of first part (ed. of Rome, 1492-1493). Hermolai Barbari Patricii Veneti P[ontificis] Aquileiensis in Castigationes Plinianas ad Alexandrum Sextum Pontificem Maximum praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Qui lucubrationes suas regibus inscribunt, Alexander Sexte Pontifex Maxime, veterem consuetudinem sequuntur; nec interest, qua

materia. . . . Ego vero Plinianas castigationes quas legatus Romae necdum sacris initiatus incohaveram, optimis et doctissimis viris suadentibus, perfectas emissurus, gravissime reprehendendus fuisset nisi eas (qualescunque forent) numini et maiestati tuae consecrassem. . . . Quanto mihi iustius tu succenseas, Pontifex Maxime, si et militiae et sacerdotii iure tibi secundum deum maxime devinctus auctoratusque, testimonio tuo saepissime ornatus, patrocinio adiutus, auctoritate servatus, commiserō ut labores mei (quicumque sit eorum Genius) atrati hoc est sine auspicio tuo prodeant? Iam ipse Plinius, si quemadmodum restitutus fere creditur, ita redire posset ab inferis. Cui quaeso alii salutem et dignitatem suam quam tibi commendaturus esset? Quem simul atque suscepisses, periculum non esset uti (quae tua foelicitas et auctoritas est) denuo pessimorum latronum praeda fieret. Quinque milia in eo fere vulnera librariorum sanavimus aut certe quemadmodum sanari possent ostendimus. Dixi librariorum, ne quis aut me parum pudentem esse aut Plinium errasse dubitaret. Fuit et haec utilitas, quod in Pomponio quoque Mela, quem nemo ignorat corruptissimum haberi, ter centa fere loca, totidemque in aliis auctoribus mendosa, propere in transitu atque aliud agentes correximus. Nec omnium tamen par conditio. Prodigiosa quaedam et monstris insignia. Secundae tribus aliqua minusque foeda. Iam quaedam ex confesso falsa, quaedam ad electionem libera. Erunt et quae tutissimum fuerat omittere si utilibus ambitiosa praetulissem, aut placere magis quam prodesse laborassem. Nuda aliqua et quae velut notare inter agnoscentes satis habui, aliqua paulo pluribus verbis explicata. Passim vero auctores posuimus (id quidem verbum fuit) sed occurrendum erat invidiae, paucissimis exceptis, in quibus tamen non aleam aut libidinem sed rationem aliquam secuti sumus. Nec mihi fiducia est ut, quod Fabius quoque dixit, ea sola esse contendam. Scio quaedam inventuros adhuc, qui sagacius indagare voluerint. Utinamque sit tempus unquam quo nostra haec et levia et parum necessaria fuisse videantur! Ego vero tamet-

si, quantum mediocritate valui, summum in iis quaerendis et exponendis studium adhibui, quia tamen nec scire omnia profiteor, et connivere multo saepius atque falli proprium est hominis, paratus sum, si ullo unquam opere, in hoc praecipue, quod ad bonorum iuvenum aliquam utilitatem componitur, non pudorem modo adire deprehensus, sed et culpaē satisfacere. . . . Huius autem spei suae fructum satis uberem consecutos se putabunt [homines eruditi], si Plinium, sine quo vix potest Latina res consistere, in clientelam tuam susceperis, atque ita susceperis ut opinionem de illo iam receptam non solum agnoscere sed etiam approbare videaris. . . . [Expl.]: Vix tamen dici potest quantum ornamenti atque praesidii eminentissimo auctori patrocinium tuum afferre posse videatur. Octavo Kalendas Septembris. MCCCCXCII.

Untitled note to readers (intended to explain his use of lemmata to refer to the text, and also to assure readers of the accuracy of his printers): Monendi sunt haec legentes, nos brevitatis causa hunc ordinem servasse, ut Plinii verba in quibus aliquod erratum esset, litteris maioribus imprimerentur. . . . Sunt et alia quae praefari nos oporteret, sed ea in calcem operis ex industria contulimus, ne in fronte posita modum excederent.

*Castigationes Plinianae Hermolai Barbari Aquileiensis Pontificis.*

*Discussion of texts from other authors prefixed to Naturalis historia:* [Inc.]: Sed antequam ad instituti operis errata venio, excutienda sunt elogia quae Plinianis codicibus praeponi solent, ut illud ex Suetonio: *Periit Gades Campaniae* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Talia nos multa vel transibimus vel digito signabimus. Atque hoc, ne saepe repetendum sit, testatum in fronte volumus.

*Praefatio.* Ex praefatione Plinii. [Inc.]: *Domitiano suo salutem.* Legendum est *Vespasiano*. Ut tamen aut Titum aut Domitianum subaudias, Plinius secundo libro *Imperatoribus*, inquit, *Vespasianis patre tertium* . . . / . . . [Expl.]: in omnibus vetustis exemplaribus continuo post praefationem verba haec leguntur ab impressoribus ommissa.



*Book I.* C. Plinii Secundi historiarum mundi elenchos librorum omnium triginta septem, liber unus qui primus. [Inc.]: Est autem Elenchos graece idem fere quod συλλαβος i[dem]. ut in epistolis ad Atticum scribit Cicero .../... [Expl.]: Item *Furius Vestalis*. Scribenda sunt Iulius Bassus, Bythus, Fabius Vestalis, ex Plinio.

*Book II.* Ex secundo libro. Ex primo capite secundi libri. [Inc.]: *Infinitus et finito similis*. Legere malim, Finitus et infinito similis, quod et vetusti quidam habent codices, praesertim cum sequatur .../... [Expl.]: (Bk. XXXVII, cap. 13, fol. L5<sup>v</sup> of ed. 1492, i.e., XXXVII, 202) *ne equos quidem in tricariis*. Legendum arbitror in *trigariis*, cuius verbi mentionem superius quoque duobus locis habui, ut fallantur qui populos esse quosdam putant nomine Tricarios, de quibus hic intelligendum sit.

*Author's Postscript.* [Inc.]: Hermolaus Bonis. Haec erant in Pliniano codice flagitia, propter quae non parum multi divinum opus tanquam senticetum immo vero quasi pestilens aut lemuribus infame domicilium vitabant. Ea nos graecis et latinis auctoribus perlectis omnibus lucubratione viginti mensium revellere ac publicare curavimus. Non dubito et alia quoque deprehendi posse pluscula. Excutiam brevi ea quoque nec committam ut latitent ac decoxisse mihi videantur.... Codices tantum Romanos et Venetos secundos, quia minus vitati esse videbantur, emendavimus. Illud vero simplicis ingenii fuit, quod errata quaedam prae fracta et insignia, sine ullo verborum fuco, expunximus, procul omni pompa venditationeque, dissimulato etiam in plerisque rebus inveniendis labore, ne mirari nostra videremur .../... [Expl.]: Malui tamen ingenuum illud propositum meum tueri iuvandae lectionis Latinae, omnia quae cognovissem promendo, quam rationibus meis studere, aliqua dissimulando.

*Dedication of second part:* Hermolai Barbari in Plinianas castigationes secundas ad Alexandrum Sextum Pont. Max. Praefatio. [Inc.]: Cum in eo essem, Pontifex Maxime, ut Plinianas castigationes tuo numini dicatas vulgi manibus concrederem,

boni quidam et studiosi iuvenes quotidianis extentisque precibus impetraverunt ut remotiora quaedam in eodem auctore verba exponerem .../... Praestiti quod volebant, in idque paulo plus sesquimense impensum est. Sed dum id quod exigebatur perquiro, a capite (ut necesse fuit) orsus, in monstra quaedam satis visenda offendi, quae nos in prima editione quasi mancipia fugitiva latuerant. Ea quoque in hanc velut appendiculam relata curavi ut poenas darent et flagitii prioris et fugae .../... [Expl.]: Dionysius Rhetor de Phrasi Thucydidis commentarium secundum edidit, quoniam in priori ieiunior et contractior fuisse videbatur. Romae, Idibus Ianuariis, Mccccxciii.

*Secunda editio Castigationum Plinianarum Hermolai Barbari.* Ex praefatione Plinii: [Inc.]: *Doctissimum omnium Persium volo* [i.e., doctissimis. Manium Persium haec legere nolo, Iunium Congum volo (Praef., 7)]. Quidam non *omnium* sed *manium*, quod ita scriptum in veteribus Plinii codicibus inveniunt. Fateor sane ita legi .../... [Expl.]: tamen illud non decernendi sit argumentum. *Item tanquam honoribus ineptis* (Praef. 9: *tanquam honoribus inemptis*). Quibusdam placet *indeptis* non *ineptis*.

*Ex primo libro Plinii, hoc est ex indice operis.* [Inc.]: Ex indice libri XIII. *Antigono Cymaeo Agathone*. Scribendum *Agathocle*. Plinius. Columella. Varro. De Antigono item Cymaeo Columella, ut in libri quoque octavi .../... [Expl.]: ... ubi modo *petricum*, modo *petrinum*, ut cuiusque vel audacia vel libido fuit, scriptum invenias.

*Ex libro secundo.* [Inc.]: Cap. viii de Pythagora. *olympiade circiter xxxii* (II, 37). Sunt codices in quibus non xxxii sed xlii legitur, quando ut ipse ait hic fuit urbis Romae annus cxlii .../... [Expl.] (ex libro xxxvii, cap. primo): ... etenim striatas esse conchas fere non Plinius modo ipse libro nono dixit, sed et scimus omnes.

(In all Renaissance editions except that of 1534, the *Castigationes in Pomponium Melam* follow in the second part of the volume which contains the *Castigationes Plinianae*. All editions, including that of

1534, then contain the following third work on Pliny.)

*Dedication.* Hermolai Barbari in Plinium Glossemata ad Alexandrum Sextum Pont[ificem] Maximum, Praefatio. [*Inc.*]: In hoc quarto lucubrationis nostrae commentario, Pont[ifex] Max[ime], continentur delectu quodam glossemata et expositiones verborum quae in Pliniano codice subobscura videbantur. Sunt enim sua cuiusque artis et disciplinae vocabula, quibus uti eum qui de natura universa disserebat et licuit et oportuit.... Omnia vero haec quo promptiora quaerentibus fierent, litterarum ordine digessimus. Quem morem cum alii, tum Plinius ipse multis locis adamavit, alibi propalam testatus, ut certis regionibus Italiae et in gemmis libro ultimo .../... [*Expl.*]: ab hoc ad extremum in nominibus artificum. Cuius rei observatio castigationibus nostris sumministravit copiosam segetem.

*Text of Glossemata.* [*Inc.*]: Abaculus lib. xxxvi. cap. xxvi. Sed abacus e ligno quidem erat parte plurima, verum et e marmore vel structura factam planiciem ad sessum habilem abacum vocabant .../... [*Expl.*]: Zeta et zetecula Plinio Caecilio in epistolis erat locus capax unius lecti.... De zeta Lampridius *Indicos* inquit *odores Heliogabalus ad vaporandas zetas sine carbonibus iubebat incendi.*

*Barbarus' Postscript to the entire work:* Hermolaus Lectori [*Inc.*]: In ipso laboris nostri calce commonendus mihi lector est, ut castigationes has non modo non oraculi aut decreti, sed ne praeiudicii quidem aut testimonii maioris locum habere patiatur apud se. Tantum abest ut illos probem qui nostra haec quasi certa et legitima in suos statim codices referre cogitant, priore inducta vel erasa lectione. Quo festinationis imo vero temeritatis genere nihil esse potest in re latina pestilentius. Utinamque lex esset aliqua omnino quae id fieri prohiberet posterum. Nunc audacia quorundam tanta est, ut mendosum et limandum putent quicquid ipsi non intelligunt. Peccant hoc indocti quidem, sed docti multo saepius et maiore periculo, quibus et fides haberi solet, et falsa quae blandiantur possunt suppetere. ... Cae-

terum scire oportet, annotamenta haec quae nos expositionum quarundam instar attulimus Dioscoridi quoque propediem emittendo profutura. Ac multa quidem consilio transire mihi ipse permisi, quia tamen non commendationis meae sed usus aliorum gratia negotium hoc suscepi. Adiutum me non reprehensum ab iis putabo qui aliquid a nobis vel inventum vel non inventum arguerint. Sed ecce dum cupio deponere, amanuenses mei collectanea quaedam nostra detulerunt quorum erat inscriptio Pocoenium, quia succisivis et a coena fere temporibus excerpta erant. Postea ut fit aliis super alias curis urgentibus, elisa neglectaque suffugerant. Dum haec percenseo, annotatiunculas e multis in Plinium xxi. percommodas incurri. Eas nunc, quanquam fastidii periculo instante (quando semel haesit animo, utilitatem spectare, non gratiam) exhibebo quam brevissime. *Adonidis orti* li. xxi. c. x, secunda editione. Pausanias grammaticus: *Adonidis ait ortos latucis et feniculis frequentes ac Veneri dicatos fuisse .../... [*Expl.*]: Xylopachium, id est cubiti mensura lignum, etiam si xylon seorsum tria cubita significat Didymo Alexandrino *De marmoribus*.*

*Bibl.*: For an account of the composition of Barbarus' *Castigationes Plinianae*, as well as of his editorial procedure and standards, see Giovanni Pozzi, ed., *Hermolai Barbari Castigationes Plinianae et in Pomponium Melam* (Thesaurus Mundi: Bibliotheca Scriptorum Latinorum Mediae et Recentioris Aetatis, no. 11 and 14; 2 vols. to date; Patavii, 1973-1974), I, xv-cxi.

*Manuscripts:* None are known to be extant. Note, however, that an Italian research team has found almost identical manuscript corrections, perhaps by Barbarus himself, in many copies of *editio princeps*. See Pozzi, *Hermolai Barbari Castigationes Plinianae*, I, xv-xvii.

*Editions:*

1492 (first part) and 1493 (second part), Romae (Rome): Eucharius Argenteus [Silber] Germanus. Commentary only. GW 3340; HC 2421; Goff B-100; BMC IV, 113-114; Pell. 1824; Pol. 491; DK; IGI 1210. BM; BN; (IU; DLC; CSt).

[ca. 1493–1494, Venice]. Commentary only. GW 3341; HC 2420; Goff B-101; BMC V, 587; DK; IGI 1211; Pell. 1823; Pol. 491; Proctor 7422; Oates 2232. (BMC notes that on 11 December 1493, after the author's death, his brother Daniel took out a privilege for this edition.) BM; BN; (DNLM; ICN; MH).

1495, Cremonae (Cremona): Carolus a Darleriis. Commentary only. GW 3342; HC 2423; Goff B-102; DK; BMC VII, 959; IGI 1212; Oates 2604; Proctor 6929. BM; BN; (CtY; DLC; ICN).

1534, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Valderus. Commentary only. Panzer VI, 303, 990; NUC; DK; Adams B-175; Index Aureliensis \*112.854. BM; BN; Vienna UB and NB; (DLC; MH; NNU).

1536, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Text and commentary for Book II only. BM; BN.

1547, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechelus. Text and commentary for Book XXI only. Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 343, who dates it 1557 or has found a later edition. A 1557 edition is also listed in Schweiger II, 794. Brussels, BR.

1973—(in progress), Patavii (Padua): In aedibus Antenoreis. Edited by Giovanni Pozzi *et al.*; vols. 1 and 2 reproduce the *Castigationes primae* through Book XX.

Variorum commentaries which contain material drawn from Barbarus.

1669. See above, Composite Editions. Not an edition of Barbarus' whole commentary, but contains a variorum commentary which draws much of its material from Barbarus.

1778–1791. See above, Composite Editions. See remark on ed. 1669, above.

1827–1831. See above, Composite Editions. See remark on ed. 1669, above.

Note: In addition, the dedications by Barbarus to Pope Alexander VI (but not the commentary) appeared in several collections of humanistic letters and tracts: e.g., Preface to Part I in Philippus Beroaldus, *Orationes, praelectiones et praefationes* (Paris, 1505; again, Paris, 1508), and in the same author's *Varia opuscula* (Basel, 1515).

### *Doubtful Editions:*

1493, Rome. Brunet, *Manuel* I<sup>1</sup>, 645, describes an edition supposedly bearing dates different from those of *editio princeps*. This entry results from his confusing the date of the dedication of *Castigationes secundae* to Pope Alexander VI (Idibus Januariis) with the date in the colophon of Silber's edition of that part (Idibus Februariis).

1494, Mediolani (Milan). H 2422; Clement II, 412–413; Fabricius, BLMA I, 172–174; but GW III, 374, calls it "nicht nachweisbar."

1495, Barcelona: Pedro Miguel. Haebler, *Bibliografía ibérica del siglo XV*, II, 15, cites documentary evidence for such a publication but knows of no copy; GW III, 374, calls it "nicht nachweisbar."

[undated, ca. 1495, Venice?]. BM; Clement II, 414; but inspection of copies at BM shows that this volume is identical with the undated second edition of ca. 1493–1494.

1497, Venice. Fabricius, BLMA I, 172–174; Nicéron XIV, 1–34; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.*, II, 378–503. Claims for such an edition of Barbarus' *Castigationes Plinianae* result from confusion caused by the title-page of the edition of *Naturalis historia* published at Venice by Bernardus Benalius in 1497 (probably 1498, modern style). The editor, Johannes Baptista Palmarius, incorporated Barbarus' emendations into the text and marginal gloss of his edition, and hence the title page claims that the edition is "e castigationibus Hermolai Barbari quam emendatissime editi." The edition does not, however, reprint Barbarus' commentary or contain any other commentary. Palmarius describes his use of the commentary by Barbarus (who died in 1493, shortly after the first publication of his work) in his letter of dedication to Gonzalo Ruíz de la Vega y Mendoza, on fol. al<sup>v</sup> of the edition. He credits the Venetian printer Antonius Moretus with encouraging him to undertake the work.

A large number of other editions of Pliny, generally basing their text on the edition by Palmarius, also claimed on their title pages to be "e castigationibus Barbari." They include:

1499, Venetiis (Venice): Johannes Alvisius. BM.

1511, Luteciae Parrhisiorum (Paris): Franciscus Regnault and Johannes Frellon. BM; (IU).

1514, Parrihisiis (Paris): Nicolaus de Pratis. Vienna UB.

1516, Parisiis (Paris): Nicolaus de Pratis. BN; (MoSW).

1518, Hagenoae (Hagenau): Sumptibus ... Ioannis Kobergii ac Lucae Alantsee, impressum ... opera ... Thomae Anshelmi Badensis. Claimed as an edition of the commentary by Nicéron XIV, 1–34, and Zeno, *Diss. Voss.*, II, 378–503, but not by Panzer VII, 86, 149; Brunet, *Manuel IV*<sup>1</sup>, 715. BM; BN; Vienna UB and NB; (MoSU; IU).

1525, Basileae (Basel): Johannes Frobenius. This edition, edited by Erasmus, contains no commentary but claims to have drawn its text “ex annotationibus eruditorum hominum, praesertim Hermolai Barbari.” BM BN; (CU).

*Doubtful Partial Edition:*

1557, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechel. Graesse, *Trésor V* (1922), 343, and Schweiger II, 794, list an edition of Book XXI, *Naturalis historiae liber XXI de natura florum cum Hermolai Barbari castigationibus*, which I have been unable to confirm. If the report is correct, this would be a reprint of the partial edition of 1547 (see above).

*Biography*\*:

Hermolaus Barbarus (Ermolao or Almorò Barbaro) was born at Venice 24 May 1454 and died of plague at Rome in July, 1493. He had the same name as his uncle, who was also a known scholar and who became bishop of Verona. Hermolaus' father Zaccaria was an active collector of manuscripts, and his grandfather Francesco was one of the leading Venetian humanists of the early fifteenth century. Hermolaus studied at Venice and then at Verona under Matteo Bosso and his own uncle Hermolaus, bishop of the latter city and himself a pupil of Guarino da Verona; then he studied at Rome under Pom-

ponius Laetus in Latin and Theodore Gaza in Greek, and at the University of Padua, where he studied jurisprudence and also lectured on Aristotle's ethical works. He also studied at Venice with his friend Giorgio Merula, professor of eloquence there from 1468 to 1482. In 1477 he completed his legal doctorate and by 1479 was back in Venice except for a brief period of lecturing on Greek poetry at Padua in 1484. From late in 1484, in Venice, he began giving private lectures in his home on the philosophy of Aristotle. In this work he was sharply critical of the Arabic or “Averroist” interpretation of Aristotle, as represented at Padua by Nicoletto Vernia, and was also critical of scholastic influence on the thought of his acquaintance Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. He lectured from the Greek text and conceived a plan to retranslate all of Aristotle's works, an undertaking which produced some new translations published after his death by Daniel Barbarus. Although Barbarus was devoted chiefly to scholarship, his social position involved him in political obligations as well. He became a member of the Maggior Consiglio in 1471, a senator in 1483, and *ad continentem et bella praefectus* in 1488. He represented the Republic at the court of the Emperor Frederick III and his son Maximilian at Bruges in 1486, at the court of Ludovico (il Moro) Sforza at Milan in 1488–1489, and at the Roman Curia in 1490–91. His rash acceptance of papal appointment (6 March 1491) to the Patriarchate of Aquileia without gaining prior approval from his government not only terminated his diplomatic career but also meant that he was a political exile for the rest of his life.

*Works:* His *Castigationes Plinianae* rank as his most important achievement as a classical scholar and have continued to be used by later editors of Pliny right down to modern times. Simultaneously with it, he published *Castigationes in Pomponium Melam*. He also published Latin translations of Themistius' Paraphrases of Aristotle (1480). After his death, his brother Aloisius and his nephew Franciscus published his translation of Dioscorides, *De medicinali*

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\*The biography is based in part upon information supplied by John M. Riddle (North Carolina State University).

*materia*, with his commentary, the *Corollaria*, edited by Johannes Baptista Egnatius (first edition, Venice, 1516). Still later, his grand-nephew Daniel Barbarus edited works based on the uncle's lectures on Aristotle: *Compendium ethicorum librorum* (1544) and *Compendium scientiae naturalis ex Aristotele* (1545). Both texts were reprinted, the latter several times. Daniel also published his uncle's translation of Aristotle's *Rhetorica* (1544), of which there were several reprints. Other works include orations (his *Oratio ad Fredericum III imperatorem et Maximilianum regem Romanorum*, stemming from his embassy to Bruges, was thrice printed in the year of its delivery, 1486), and numerous letters and Latin verses. In addition to the ongoing edition of his *Castigationes* on Pliny and Pomponius Mela by Pozzi (see above), there have been two modern editions of selected works, both by Vittore Branca: *Epistolae, orationes et carmina* (Nuova Collezione di Testi Umanistici Inediti o Rari, V-VI) (2 vols.; Florence, 1943); and *De coelibatu, De officio legati* (same series, XIV) (Florence, 1969).

*Bibl.*: Bayle, III, 87-95; E. Bigi, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* VI (1960) 96-99; Cosenza I, 404-12; Fabricius, BLMA I, 172-174; Jöcher I, 769-771; E. H. F. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (5 vols., Königsberg, 1857), V, 219-23; Nicéron XIV, 1-134; Rossi, *Quattrocento*, pp. 319-321; Remigio Sabbadini in *Encic. Ital.* VI, 132; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.*, II, 348-403.

Luigi Banfi, "Ermolao Barbaro, Venezia ed il patriarcato di Aquileia," *Nuova Antologia*, 466 (1956), 68-74; Vittore Branca, "Fermenza cristiana e impegno filologico del patriarca Ermolao Barbaro in una epistola inedita a Giorgio Merula," in *Miscellanea Gilles Gérard Meersseman* (Italia Sacra, vol. 15-16; 2 vols.; Padua, 1970), II, 687-694; idem, "Ermolao Barbaro e l'Umanesimo Veneziano," in Branca, ed., *Umanesimo Europeo e Umanesimo Veneziano* (Florence, 1964), pp. 193-212; Quirinus Breen, "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on the Conflict of Philosophy and Rhetoric," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 13 (1952), 384-412; Arnaldo Ferriguto, *Almorò Barbaro, l'alta cultura*

*del settentrione d'Italia nel Quattrocento, i "sacri canones" di Roma e le "sanctissime legi" di Venezia* (Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, ser. 3, vol. 15; Venice, 1919); Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Un codice Padovano di Aristotele postillato da Francesco ed Ermolao Barbaro: Il manoscritto Plimpton 17 della Columbia University Library," in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), pp. 337-353; Pio Paschini, *Tre illustri prelati del Rinascimento: Ermolao Barbaro, Adriano Castellesi, Giovanni Grimani* (Lateranum, n.s., an. XXIII, n. 1-4; Rome, 1957); Joseph T. Stickney, *De Hermolai Barbari vita atque ingenio* (dissertation, University of Paris, 1903).

#### 8. MARCUS ANTONIUS COCCIUS, CALLED SABELLICUS

The date and place of composition of these *Emendationes seu annotationes in Plinium* by Marcus Antonius Coccius (almost invariably known in his own time as Sabellicus) are not recorded: but the latest possible date is 1497, the year of the first printed edition. The actual composition may well have occurred a few years earlier, since Sabellicus claims in the dedication to the Venetian aristocrat Dominicus Grimanus that no one has heretofore corrected the entire text of Pliny. If true, such a claim would make this work earlier than the *Castigationes Pliniana* (1492-1493) of Barbarus. The dedication cannot be earlier than 1489, since Sabellicus addresses Grimanus as a knight (*eques*), an honor conferred on him by the Emperor Frederick III for his services as a member of a Venetian embassy which escorted the Emperor through Northern Italy in that year. Since Sabellicus does not refer to Grimanus as a cardinal, the dedication may antedate Grimanus' elevation to the Sacred College as Cardinal-Deacon of St. Nicholas Inter Images, on 20 September 1493. If this *terminus ante quem* is valid, Sabellicus' commentary would be almost exactly contemporaneous with the work of Barbarus, who supposedly hastened the completion of his own much longer

commentary because he learned that Sabellicus had a similar project in hand. That Barbarus won the race is suggested not only by the earlier publication of his commentary but also by the delay in publication of Sabellicus' work until 1497 and by the fact that it was then presented to the scholarly market as a part of a collection of notes on several classical Latin authors. The work was probably done at Venice, where the author spent most of his middle and later years. The dedicatory epistle claims that the commentary was an outgrowth of the author's undertaking to lecture on Pliny three years previously. Sabellicus acknowledges that the Venetian humanist Antonius Moretus, who was closely associated with the printing trade, was especially active in urging him to prepare his notes on Pliny for the press, especially as there was reason to fear that some enthusiastic students of Sabellicus might otherwise bring out an unauthorized edition based on the lectures. The notes as published cover the whole of *Naturalis historia*, from Book II to Book XXXVII, though not at great length. They end with a quotation from the commentary by Philip-pus Beroaldus.

In the edition of the *Emendationes* published at Venice in 1502, Sabellicus added further notes on Pliny, as the opening section of another work, *Observationes . . . ex varia auctorum lectione*. Since this section is a defense of the earlier work on Pliny in response to the "calumnies" of unnamed critics and is presented as a supplement to that work, it will be here treated as a brief second commentary, though the *Observationes* then continue with discussion of textual problems in other Roman authors.

a. First commentary.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1502). M. Antonius Sabellicus Dominico Grimano philosopho et equiti clarissimo salutem. [*Inc.*]: Facis quod et nostrorum hominum pauci, ac nescio an verius nemo dixerim, Dominice eques splendidissime . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Sed cum hanc quoque varie tractare dicaris quae te diutius in sui admiratione detineat, prae

naturali illa quam Plinius sex et triginta complexus est voluminibus, audio esse nullam. Verum quo maiori illius studio teneris, eo te iniquius ferre certum habeo quod ex uberrima hac recentiorum hominum fruge nemo adhuc extiterit qui lectionem ipsam a vitio partim temporum iniquitate partim librariorum inscitia contracto sit vindicare adortus. At fuerunt qui sparsim paucissima quaedam velut in transcurso subnotarent, fuitque illud intra hostium vallum iaculari, non statariam conserere pugnam. Nos vero non qui plus virium quam illi haberemus sed maiore quadam fiducia freti, tertio abhinc anno Plinium eo consilio interpretandum suscepimus, ut non rerum solum sed quantum in me esset omnis etiam verborum explicaretur ratio. Fuit (fateor) certamen illud longe acerbius quam ab initio conceperam, ita ut non ubique nobis immota steterit acies, sed turbatus interdum aut pedem rettuli aut magnitudine rei deterritus terga paene dedi. Vici tamen vicique constantia magis quam viribus. Ex longaue et varia observationum serie locos quosdam in amicorum conspectum cunctanter mehercule et cum rubore nonnunquam dedi. Sed adolescentes plerique qui tum nobis forte operam dabant immoderatus id facere vulgoque talia velut mancipia bello capta in aperto proponere. Quae res effecit ut amicorum quidam et in his Antonius Moretus, homo ut nosti nostratium litterarum perbelle eruditus, studiorumque fautor maximus, nunquam postea efflagitare a me destiterint ut Plinianas eiusmodi annotationes quam pressissime possem in ordinem redigerem, redactas in apertum referrem. Quod ipsum ne magis sua causa noluisse me quam non potuisse crederent, ex omni numero qui sane ingens fuit, pauca admodum atque illa ipsa nuda nulloque verborum apparatu breviter collegi. Et in his nonnulla quae quoniam utrinque auctoritate laborarent censui in medio relinquenda. Sed cum duas ferme ex eodem genere centurias scripsissem, essetque altera adhuc semiplena, impetus coepit eam ex extrario quodam et quasi evocatorum numero sparsim hinc inde locis accersitis explere, quod

ipsum ex sententia adeptus, cum iam prospicere coepissem cui potissimum hanc observationis formam cognoscendam traderem, tu unus omnium, vir praestantissime, maxime dignus mihi visus es, quem imprimis tali munere impartiremus. Sciebam enim ita fore ut in tua ornatissima bibliotheca emendanda, quamquam nihil sit illa emendatius, nostram industriam non modo non aspernareris sed etiam daturus esses operam ut duae hae nostrae Centuriae a me tumultuose conscriptae, si non multa vi, apparatu saltem aliquanto honestiore, per te essent in medium processurae. Quod ipsum ut praestes, rogo te vehementer et hortor. Vale.

*Commentary.* Annotationes. [Inc.]: Ex secundo libro, capite primo. Et ne ociose nimis Plinium adiremus, in ipso paene vestibulo obicitur locus animadversione dignus: *alios inquit rursus occasione hinc sumpta aut his data innumerabiles tradidisse mundos, ut totidem rerum naturas credi oporteret, aut, si una omnes incubarent, totidem tamen soles* (II,3). Sic et vetera et recentia Plinii (de iis duntaxat loquor quae adhuc vidimus) habent exemplaria. At tu vide ne uni sit potius legendum, ut ad naturam referatur, nam si una innumeros mundos incubare intelligas, frigide nimis ac parum (ut sic dicam) considerate a Plinio id dictum, nemo non altius singula rimatus dixerit .../... [Expl.]: Ex libro 37, capite 2. *Licet aestimare ex multitudine, quae tanta fuit ut auferente liberis eius Nerone Domitio theatrum peculiare transtiberim hortis exposita occuparent, hoc a populo impleri canentes, et dum Pompeianus praeludit, etiam Neroni satis erat* (XXXVII, 19, but with considerable textual variation from both contemporary and modern printed editions). Haec Pliniana habet lectio. Sed eam mendose quidem et corrupte ut neque ordo neque sensus ullus lectori constare possit ... quum dico maxime placere cuperet Popeiae, amoribus addictus. Quod Popeiam Nero perdit amarit priusquam uxorem duxerit, Tranquillus et Cornelius sunt auctores.

*Selection of readings from the commentary by Beroaldus.* [Inc.]: Hactenus nostra.

Nunc pauca translaticia sparsim ab aliis observata subiiciam, ut Plinium recognoscentibus non sit opus ea aliunde quaerere.

In tertio Plinii. Ubi *carmen* (III, 69) erat, Beroaldus Bononiensis Varronis, Livii et Servii testimonio (potuisset et Ciceronem citare) *carnem* emendatius reposuit .../... [Expl.]: Libro [this edition omits the number of the book: XIV, 58]. *Cicutam esse homini venenum Cicutae vinum*, pro *vinum esse homini venenum*, sicuti cicutam, Plinio, Dioscoride, Plutarcho auctoribus.

[Sabellicus adds a transitional passage before turning from Pliny to other authors, beginning with Livy]. [Inc.]: Et hi quidem pauci manipuli, Dominice vir clarissime, ex ingenti disertorum numero insigni animadversione digni sunt .../... [Expl.]: tibi subiiciam; exeunt equidem scitu (ni fallor) satis dignae et (quod tute facile iudicabis) relatu omnibus iucundissimae.

[The whole set of *Annotationes*, which begins with the materials on Pliny, *expl.*]: simul quod abunde satis sit alteri centuriae factum, quae extrariae huius evocationis genere explenda fuit, consulto abstineo.

#### b. Second commentary, from his *Observationes*.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1502). Marcus Antonius Sabellicus Francisco Fortunio. [Inc.]: Lusi totum triduum, Fortuni, his proximis feriis, nec nucibus lusi, non enim tam damnosam ludit aleam Sabellicus sed chartis hisque lusoriis, sed poeticis, historicis, oratoriis; collusores affuere C. Plinius, Cicero, Annaeus Lucanus et qui Argonautica scripsit Flaccus. Cum his tres integros egi dies, ac totidem noctes pervigil, dum loci ex illorum marginibus linea apice asterisco ceu cauterico notati per iocum et lusum repetuntur. Magnus chartarum crepitus, crebra et tumultuosa foliorum volutatio. Quaeris quid actum sit. Trecentum et amplius locos in ordinem redegi, quos velut libello uno complexus ita digessi ut quoto quisque sit capite librove observatus facile cognosci possit. Caeterum exscripsi ego hos locos nullo verborum apparatu, quum tua



causa, cui a principio in animo habui brevem hanc lucubrationem inscribere . . . . Quid quod in re tam tenui, non solum non exquisito aliquo sum usus verborum fuco copiave orationis, sed ne iudicium quidem ullum recens adhibui praesenti recognitioni, omnia ad pristinam illam censuram referens. Satis credo tibi nota est verecunda illa professionis ratio in tuo Sabellico, qui in obscuris et ambiguis nihil mutat, nihil restituit, nisi iudicio fretus et auctoritate. Ubi utraque re laboratur, asteriscum margini affigit. Quum vero solo iudicio statur, tum pristina lectura integra, et si quid est quod rectius reponi possit, particula in fronte ponitur subducta linea. Monetque interim lectorem, videat an eo modo rectius legi possit. In quo genere tota propemodum haec observationum ratio quae ad te mittitur posita est. Uteris itaque tuo iudicio. . . / . . . [Expl.]: Ego quod ad officium attinet, satis me Fortunio placuisse arbitror si non in omnibus displicuero. Vale.

*Commentary.* M. Anto[nii] Sabellici. Observationes M. Antonii Sabellici ex varia auctorum lectione. Ad Franciscum Fortunium. [Inc.]: Primum omnium illud apud te testatum relinquam, vir amicissimae, esse locos quosdam, de iis loquor qui ad Plinium attinent, qui etsi priore illa nostra observatione in ordinem venire, sunt nunc iterum tractandi, ne aliquid vidisse credantur qui illos labefactare conati sunt . . . . Nam quod ad primam illam calumniam attinet, ubi parum apte in primo capite operis dicimus reposuisse *uni* pro *una*, ut legendum sit *uni naturae*. . . / . . . [Expl.]: (XXXV, 62, 63)]. Et demum illud adverte an pro *Alcamene*, ut nunc habet, sit vera lectio *Alcmene*.

(The *Observationes* then continue, dealing with several other authors. The whole text *expl.*: quae abs te recipi possint, utere illis, nam tua sunt, caetera supprime rogo aut subito conscinde. Vale.)

*Editions:*

[1497]. First commentary only. See above, Composite Editions.

1502. Both commentaries. See above, Composite Editions.

1508. Both commentaries. See above, Composite Editions.

1511. Both commentaries. See above, Composite Editions.

1516. Materials from Sabellicus' commentaries are included in the variorum commentary by Nicolaus Beraldus. See above, Composite Editions, and below, s.v. Beraldus.

1602. Both commentaries. See above, Composite Editions.

1737–1751. Probably both commentaries. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Marcus Antonius Coccius, commonly known as Sabellicus (Marc'Antonio Coccio, Sabellico), Italian humanist and historiographer of the Republic of Venice, was born at Vicovaro in the Campagna in 1436 and died at Venice on 18 April 1506. Educated under Domitius Calderinus and Julius Pomponius Laetus and as a young man a member of the latter's Roman Academy, he taught rhetoric at Udine from 1473 to 1483 and then was attracted to Venice, where he spent the rest of his life. Some biographers claim that he went to Venice as professor of humanities, but his principal functions there were as historiographer and as custodian of the rich library which Cardinal Bessarion had willed to the Republic. On his retirement in 1505, he was given a pension of two hundred ducats a year in recognition of his services.

*Works:* Most of his writings (but not his notes on Pliny) were collected into his *Opera omnia* (ed. by Caelius Secundus Curio, 4 vols.; Basel, 1560). There was an earlier, less complete, edition by Caspar Hedio (2 vols.; Basel, 1538). The earlier publication sometimes described as his *Opera* (Venice: Albertinus de Lisona, 1502) is only a small selection. His most important work dealt with the history and institutions of Venice and other Italian cities, and with world history: *De situ urbis Venetae* (1494), *De Venetis magistratibus* (1488 or 1489), *De vetustate Aquileiensis patriae* (1482), *Rerum Venetarum ab urbe condita libri XXXIII* (1487), and especially *Enneades sive rhapsodia historiarum* (1498–1504). He also wrote

a life of his master Pomponius Laetus, prefixed to the latter's *Romanae historiae compendium* (1499). Sabellicus was also active as an editor and commentator on classical authors, including (besides Pliny) *Marci Tullii Ciceronis Rhetoricorum libri* (1497), in which he challenged the traditional ascription of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* to Cicero; Horace (published 1545), Livy (1495), Lucan (published 1514), Suetonius (1480), Justinus' epitome of Pompeius Trogus (1493?), and Valerius Maximus (1488). His published works also include various orations and letters, the essays *De praetoris officio* and *De Latinae linguae reparatione, seu de viris illustribus* (published with *De situ urbis Venetae*, 1494), poems, including *De rerum et artium inventoribus* (published with Polydore Vergil, *De inventoribus rerum*, 1509), and *In natalem diem divae virginis Mariae* (ca. 1485–1490), and *Libri exemplorum decem* (published posthumously in 1507 and often reprinted).

*Bibl.*: Bayle XIII, 1–5; Cosenza IV, 3122–3127, and V, 1584–1585; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXX, 379; Fabricius, BLMA VI, 140–141; Nicéron XII, 144–168; Tiraboschi VI, 1045–1049, and VII, 2185–2186.

Marco Foscarini, *Della letteratura Veneziana ed altri scritti intorno ad esse* (2nd ed.; Venice, 1854), pp. 249–255; Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (3rd ed.; Munich, 1936; reprint, New York, 1968), pp. 30–35; Giovanni Mercati, *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti, Fascicolo II: Note sopra A. Bonfini, M.A. Sabellico, [et al.]* (Studi e Testi, 91; Città del Vaticano, 1939), pp. 1–23; Lionardo Nicodemo, *Addizioni copiose... alla Biblioteca Napoletana del Dottor Niccolò Toppi* (Naples, 1683), pp. 163–165; Niccolò Toppi, *Biblioteca Napoletana* (Naples, 1678), p. 103; Apostolo Zeno, *Marci Antonii Cocci Sabellici vita*, in *Degl'Istorici delle cose veneziane i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto*, I (1718), xxix–lxvii.

#### 9. ROBERTUS DE VALLE

The French humanist Robertus de Valle

published at Paris in 1500 two companion volumes dealing with Pliny. The first, *Compendium memorandorum vires naturales et commoda comprehendens a Plinio data*, is a commentary on Books II–XXXVII of *Naturalis historia*. The second, *Explanatio locorum Plinii difficilium*, is an alphabetical glossary of Pliny's terminology and will be briefly treated as a second commentary. The date of composition must fall between December of 1492, date of the election of Renatus d'Illiers, Bishop of Chartres (Eubel, *Hierarchia* II, 133), to whom both books were dedicated, and the publication of the two works in 1500. A date toward the end of this period seems likely. The postscript which Robertus added to his *Explanatio* describes his use of sources and acknowledges the influence of the *Castigationes* of Barbarus, whose work came to his attention only as he was finishing his first book. As he notes in this passage, he occasionally acknowledges Barbarus as an authority for some of his statements in the second book.

##### a. *Compendium memorandorum*.

*Preface*. Roberti de Valle Rothomagensis ad sequens Naturalis historiae compendium praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Pliniano ad integrum lecto praeclaro volumine, Reverende in Christo pater, Regnate Carnotensis pontifex dignissime et bonarum disciplinarum princeps . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: et brevi lectione sententias naturalis dogmatis digniores atque stilum suavissimae cultissimaeque orationis Pliniana, tu ac caeteri optimarum disciplinarum cupidi teneant.

*Compendium memorandorum* ex triginta septem voluminibus naturalis historiae Plinii, quibus occulta rerum naturalium vires earumque multiplices usus brevi sermone ac ornatissimo.

*A table of contents follows*: [*Inc.*]: Naturalis historiae liber secundus tractat de mundo et caelestibus terrestibusque et aereis. Capitulum septimum. Quid Plinius de deo senserit. . . / . . . [*Expl.*, Book XXXVII]: Capitulum xv. Ratio probandarum gemmarum, et qui fluvii gemmas reddant. Capitulum ultimum. De laude Italiae.

In huius Pliniani compendii commendationem, quae maxime sunt memoria digna et usu cotidiano aptissima tractantis, atque in consequentem Plinianorum difficilium elucidationem Epigramma.

Quisquis nosse deum totumque ab origine mundum

Percupit et varium cuncti potentis opus...

Hunc igitur quisquis Phoebeam diligit artem

Sive aliam quamvis, perlegat atque colat.

Terminato epigrammate, sequitur memorabilium ex triginta septem naturalis historiae libris electorum compendiosa tractatio.

Roberti de Valle Rothomagensis sequitur Plinianorum memorabilium collectio.

Naturalis historiae liber secundus tractat de mundo, caelestibus, igneis et aereis.

Capitulum huius collectionis primum, quod est in ordine totius voluminis septimum, in quo tractat quae sit Plinii de diis sententia. [*Inc.*]: *Matrimonia inter deos credi* (II, 17). tantoque aevo ex his neminem nasci, et alios esse grandaevos semperque canos, alios iuvenes atque pueros.../... [*Expl.*]: Ca[pitulum]. ultimum de laude Italiae. *In toto orbe* (XXXVII, 201–203) et in quaecunque caeli concavitas vergit, pulcherrima est omnium rebus, meritoque principatum naturae obtinens Italia... Metallis auri argenti aeris quamdiu libuit exercere nullis cessit. Ab ea exceptis Indiae fabulosis proxime quidem duxerim Hispaniam quae circumdatur mari.

Finis libri tricesimi septimi et totius excerpti per Robertum de Valle Rothomagensis editi.

Sequitur huius operis conclusio. [*Inc.*]: Compendiosae huic resecationi finis est tandem praefigendus (*sic*), gravissime pater et eximie praesul. In ea.../... [*Expl.*]: poterit ad integrum volumen in promptu refugere, cum superius notata, ex quoto libro quotoque capite excerpta sint, ordinate descripserim.

Finalis praesentis compendii memorandorum Plinii conclusio.

# *Edition:*

(micro.) 1500, Parisii (Paris): Felix Baligault and Durandus Gerlier. HC 15836; Goff V-77; BMC VIII, 176; IGI 10105; Oates 3110; Pell. 4537; Pol. 1392. BM; BN; (DLC; MBCo).

## *b. Explanatio locorum Plinii difficilium.*

*Dedication.* [*Inc.*]: Suscepto huius Pliniana elucidationis officio, Reverende in Christo pater Regnate Carnotensis merittissime praesul, non ignoro quam sit difficile atque operosum.../... [*Expl.*]: Horum mordacia verba contemno, firmis praefatorum sapientum columnis sustentatus, ubi praecipue hoc meum opus perspicacissimo tuo iudicio gravissimoque probaveris.

Finis prologi Roberti Rothomagensis in Plinianorum difficilium elucidationem.

In commendationem sequentis operis obscuriora vocabula Plinii naturalis historiae elucidantis, a Iudoco extemporaneum epigramma (the same epigram that precedes his *Compendium memorandorum* above).

Finis Epigrammatis.

[*Inc.*]: Sequitur Plinianorum difficilium in naturalis historiae libris expositio a Roberto de Valle Rothomagensi, quae multas poetriae, philosophiae medicinaeque obscuritates exquisite elucidat. Et primo de vocabulis incipientibus per A ante B.

*Abacus* a Graeco nomine descendit, scilicet *abax*, est autem mensa super quam collocantur aurea vasa et argentea.../... [*Expl.*, under the letter Z]: *Zoroastes* rex fuit Bactrianorum, inventor multarum artium. Quidam historici scripserunt eum fuisse Cham Noe filium, de quo Plinius libro vii. in prologo et eodem libro capitulo xvi. et libro xxx. capitulo primo.

Explicationis terminorum naturalis historiae Plinii difficilium, quae multas poetriae, philosophiae medicinaeque obscuritates elucidat, finis.

*Author's Postscript.* Roberti de Valle Rothomagensis finalis in Plinii praefatam elucidationem conclusio. [*Inc.*]: Habes, eminentis doctrinae praesul Regnate, quae ex amplissima et paene infinita nominum difficultate et rerum confusa obscuritate

explicare potui. Non profiteor integram singulorum vocabulorum expositionem protulisse. Multa quippe sunt a me relictæ quæ invenire mea sollicitudo in probatis auctoribus non potuit. Praecipuum enucleationis meae extitit propositum Pliniani mei compendii difficilia uberius tractare . . . Sed non turbet lectorem capitulorum varia in diversis Plinii libris designatio, cum quod in uno sextum, in alio septimum signetur. Magna profecto est et impressorum voluminum inter se et ab antiquis manuscriptis varietas. Extat enim in bibliotheca Rothomagensis ecclesiae Plinii volumen absque capitulorum designatione, eleganti et vetusto caractere nitidoque descriptum, multis vocabulis a nostris impressionibus discrepans. . . . Auget hanc difficultatem novasque multas affert mendarum in Plinianis libris deprehensa multitudo librariorum scilicet vitio maxime negligentiae contracta. Quas emendare omnes unius hominis vires excedit. Hermolaus tamen Latinae et Graecae eloquentiae primas [*sic*, for *primus*] opus castigationis edidit utile ac magnificandum, cuius ad me tarda pervenit agnitio, scilicet prioris expositionis libello mea opinione paene absoluto. Eius profecto Hermolai dicta legens, agnovi quaedam ac multa meis fuisse codicibus iam inserta, quæ ex eisdem quibus ipse antiquorum fontibus sollicite exhausseram. Ea tamen quæ ipse copiosius aut certius expressit, operi meo, ipsius commemorato nomine (ne deprehendar in furto), in supplementum inserere non indignum duxi . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: tuique correctionem qui rerum difficilium perspicacissimus es cognitor, aliorumque peritorum sine contumacia subeo, illis acturus gratias qui certiora scripserint et meliora. Vale.

*Edition:*

(micro.) [1500, Paris]: Durand Gerlier. HC 15837; Goff V-79; BMC VIII, 176; IGI 10108; Adams A-1214; Oates 3111 and 3112; Pell. 4539. BM; BN; (CtY; CSmH; MH).

*Biography:*

Robertus de Valle (Robert Duval), canon of Chartres, was active as a writer on humanistic and religious subjects at the end of

the fifteenth century and in the early decades of the sixteenth. Publications attributed to him as late as the 1530's and 1540's may well be posthumous. His career can be traced only in his writings, and in one published letter to Cardinal Jean de Balue, Bishop of Anjou, probably written in 1484 (Martène and Durand, eds., *Veterum scriptorum . . . amplissima collectio*, I [1724], 1606-1612).

*Works:* In addition to the two books on Pliny, Duval published a collection of works on religious and other topics, *De dispositione ad bene beateque moriendum* (ca. 1484) and an epitome of Valerius Maximus (first ed. ca. 1495, second, 1508). Later publications under his name were: *De corrupti sermonis emendatione libellus* (1535); *Commentarius in artem versificatoriam Hulderici Hutteni* (1547, an edition claiming to have been "recently" revised and enlarged by the author); and an alchemical work, *De veritate et antiquitate artis chemicae* (published as the first part of *De arte chemica libri duo*, 1600).

*Bibliography:* Fabricius, BLMA VI, 109; Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Veterum scriptorum . . . amplissima collectio*, I (1724), 1606-1612. There is also a rather confused short notice in G. Grente, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Le seizième siècle* (Paris, 1951), p. 283.

# 10. GEORGIUS VALLA

Published at Venice in 1502 as part of a posthumous collection of the author's *commentationes* on various authors, this *In Plinii praefationis primi libri* [and *In secundi libri Plinii*] *naturalis historiae obscuriores locos interpretatio* covers the *Praefatio* and Book II. The dedicatory epistle by the author's son Johannes Petrus Valla shows that the work was written down by the son from his father's dictation of materials from his lectures on Pliny but was prepared for publication by the son after the father's death in 1500. In view of its incomplete state at the time of his death, the elder Valla's work on Pliny must fall into the last years of

his life, about 1500. Johannes Petrus placed his own name at the head of the main text, though not on the title-page. His description of the genesis of the work suggests that the actual exposition of Pliny was by his father but that his own contribution to the published text was substantial.

*Dedication for the whole volume* (ed. of Venice, 1502). Joannes Petrus Valla reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino D. Joanni Stephano Sancti Vitalis Cardinali Bononien-sique episcopo salutem dicit aeternam. [Inc.]: Cum mecum tacitus multum ac diu, Reverendissime Praesul, cogitarim, intemperantis esse hominis cessare ubi mortalium generi prodesse posse animadverterit .../... [Expl.]: moriens non publicata reliquerat modo tibi placeant non minimam sed maximam laudem tua de causa videbitur consecutus. Vale.

*Dedication for the Pliny commentary.* Joannes Petrus Valla clarissimo ex Justis Justo Veronensi senatori, equiti iurato, iuris utriusque doctori, salutem dicit aeternam. [Inc.]: Cum Naturalis historiae secundi libri locos ambiguos et obscuros quos olim pater meus profitendo enarraverat in ordinem commentariorum redigendos animo agitare, et quia difficile id factu arbitrabar [for arbitratur?], non quia homini doctissimo paratissimi, obvii et expositi non essent, sed quia tum legendo tum aliud agendo maioribus negotiis quae ad rem litterariam pertinebant occupatissimum et implicatissimum esse animadverterem, operepretium fuit succissivis temporibus, cum illi per otium vacare liceret, eo dictante quae antea in explanatione horum locorum praecepisset, statim colligere, ut quoad per me fieri posset, bonarum artium studiosis prodessem, qui ut erat non minus eruditissimus quam humanissimus, quantum quisque suae aetatis alius, mihi in hanc rem flagrantissimo morem gessit. Ne igitur hi fructus quos nostra industria paraveram situ et squalore obtriti ac reconditi prorsus interirent, eos censui in publicam utilitatem tanquam e promptuario proferendos .../... [Expl.]: Veronam patriam suam agnoscere videtur. At ne sim

quam par sit praefatione longior de re ipsa iam dicere incipiam. Vale.

Joannis Petri Vallae in Plinii praefationis primi libri Naturalis historiae obscuriores locos interpretatio. [Inc.]: In secundum Naturalis historiae librum interpretatiunculas igitur posituri, existimamus minus obviis sensibus abstrusioribusque succurrendum quaeque aperta fuerint omittenda ... Ita sumendo principium. *Libros Naturalis historiae, novitium Camoenis quiritum tuorum opus* (Praef. 1). Novitium opus dixit Plinius quasi nuperrime factum, ut servi sunt novitii qui necdum satis experti sunt .../... [Expl.]: de magnitudine inquit Galliarum suidiarum Cato scribit his verbis, in Italia in scrobes terna atque quaterna milia suidicia.

Joannis Petri Vallae in secundi libri Plinii Naturalis historiae obscuriora expositio. [Inc.]: *Mundum est [sic] hoc ... neque interiturum unquam* (II, 1). Cunctorum quae mundus comprehendat scripturus historiam Plinius, primo ut aequum est diffinit mundum non per genus et differentiam .../... [Expl.]: quasi vero caetera cate nosset, si verum, magna hominis arrogantia. *Bathea ponti* (II, 224). Id est, profunda, nam bathus idem est quod profunditas.

#### *Edition:*

1502, Venetiis (Venice): Marcus Firmanus and Simon Bivilaqua. Commentary only; with other commentaries by Valla, under the title *Praeclarissimi viri Georgii Vallae Commentationes in Ptolemaei Quadripartitum inque Ciceronis Partitiones et Tusculanas quaestiones ac Plinii Naturalis historiae librum secundum*. Panzer, VIII, 348, 82; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, *Catálogo*, VII, 120-121; V. O. Ludwig, *Klosterneuburger Altdrucke*, p. 171, no. 701 (565). BM; BN.

#### *Biography:*

See CTC I, 126, 224.

Bibliography: Add: Cosenza IV, 3545-3549; V, 1829-1830; Toffanin, *Cinquecento*, p. 119. J. L. Heiberg, "Georg Vallas biographi," *Festschrift til Vilhelm Thomsen* (Copenhagen, 1894), pp. 81-89.

## 11. MARINUS BECICHEMUS

These notes on Book I of Pliny (covering both the *Praefatio* and the *Elenchus Librorum*), entitled *Variarum observationum Collectanea*, were dedicated to the Senate of Brescia on 27 August 1504 but can be dated even earlier, since the dedication of the closely related *Elegans ac docta in C. Plinium Praelectio* (25 August 1503) already refers to the *Collectanea* and indicates that they will soon (*cras aut perendie*) also be published. Indeed, the *Collectanea* may well go back to 1501, the year of the author's letter to Victor Capellus, which is prefixed to the text. The official dedication of the *Collectanea* shows that they were an outgrowth of Becichemus' lectures as rector of the town school at Brescia (1501–1508). Here he claims that he published these notes only at the urging of his students and of leading men of the city. The same dedication places these notes in explicit relation to the work of earlier students of Pliny: Angelus Politianus (who did not publish a commentary but dealt with Pliny in several of his works, especially *Miscellaneorum centuria*), Hermolaus Barbarus, Sabellicus, and Beroaldus.

Although the *Elegans ac docta in C. Plinium Praelectio* is not a commentary in form and is not even rigorously confined to Pliny, it does stand in close relation to the commentary and (as the dedication of 25 August 1503 to Andreas Lauretanus clearly shows) was another by-product of his lectures on Pliny at Brescia. It will here be treated briefly as a second commentary. Of particular interest is its dedication to Lauretanus, which expresses the author's bitter hostility to an unnamed critic and professor of rhetoric who had corrupted the text of Pliny as well as that of other ancient authors. This thinly veiled attack on Becichemus' rival Raphael Regius, who had beaten him out of the chair of rhetoric at Padua in 1503, is also a frequent theme of the *Collectanea*. Although the *Praelectio* was published before the *Collectanea*, the pre-

fatory materials suggest that the latter (at least in rough form) was the earlier work.

a. *Variarum observationum Collectanea*.

*Public Dedication* (ed. [Brescia? 1503–1504?]). Marinus Becichemus Scodrensis Senatui Brixiano Salutem dicit. [*Inc.*]: Cui magis quam Brixiano Senatui, utpote litterarum a quibus animi lumen accepit, illustratori, et eloquentiae qua semper haec civitas delectata est, conservatori, meas lucubrationes cognoscendas tradam, occurrat nemo . . . . Scio quam ardua et periculosa res sit minimique honoris interpretationis editio. Scio quanta sit in eo genere labes . . . . Satis alieno periculo admonitus ab eo munere abstinere, nullumque ingenii monumentum nisi per Marii et Ioannis Francisci filiorum meorum manus, si Dei munere ad pubertatem pariter et ingenii decus pervenerint aut per alios haeredes post mortem, quum cesserat livor, edere constitueram. Caeterum a proposito me deflectere coegerunt tam assiduae auditorum nostrorum preces, tum multorum et clarissimorum professorum consilia, qui mei esse officii contendebant universae academiae gratificari atque dignitatis, quaecunque Brixiana iuventus nimio mei amore ex nostris sermonibus sparsim interceperat et divulgaverat, in unum colligere et emendare, iureiurando affirmantes se non dubitare vel ex paucis annotamentis quae ad se delata sunt me non parum gloriae consecuturum. Accesserunt complures qui hic adsunt viri consulares, quorum una atque eadem sententia fuit, quae hactenus tam diversae interpretationes editae sunt, magis confusionem quandam quam expositionem attulisse. Quid facerem? Motus tanta auctoritate verecundiaque non obtemperandi perterritus, nullum esse tantum periculum arbitratus sum quod honeste subterfugere possim aut tam grave negotium quod deprecari liceat. Ilico persuasus meme operi accinxi. Divulgata multa liberavit [*sic*, for liberavi], quaedam latitantia in medium eduxi, in unum coacta tumultuaria (ut ita dicam) manu recognovi, si modo recognitio esse potest aut dici praecipitata lectio.

Mox primam editionem in naturalis historiae praefationem confeci maiore qua putaram facultate operae haud spernendae, ni suscepti operis amore et foetuum meorum blanditiis fallor, quam vobis offero, P[atres]. C[onscripti] . . . . Nullum enim locum reliqui quem non dilucide explanaverim . . . . Ego vero quos praecursores in huius historici campo habui, et omnibus gratias habeo. In primisque Politiano viro rarissimo, Barbaroque Hermolao cuius nihil minus fuit quam barbarum, quorum intempestivum fatum musarum omnium chorus luxit, necnon M.A. meo Sabellico scriptori eloquentissimo, eruditissimoque Beroaldo . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Haec erunt certissima pignora et manifesta signa mei affectus. Qualiacunque erunt, quaeso, boni consulatis. Valete P[atres] C[onscripti], clarissima Italiae lumina valete. Ex academia vestra, Sexto Calendas Septembris. M. D. IIII.

*Marini Becichemi Scodrensis variarum observationum collectanea.*

*Private Dedication:* Marinus Becichemus Scodrensis Victori Capello suo S.P.D. [Inc.]: Accipe paucis quid sentiam de obscurioribus locis quae mihi velut delio enodanda (utar verbis tuis), amantissime, proposuisti . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Si minus ea opinione quam de me pro tua humanitate concepisti, tuo et tuorum favore sustentem precor, nec in nobis virium imbecillitatem sed voluntatis gratitudinem consideres. Patavii, Nonis Sext. MDI.

Marini Becichemi in primum Naturalis historiae librum observationum collectanea. *Praefatio.* [Inc.]: *Libros naturalis historiae . . . iucundissime imperator* (Praef. 1). Sensus est: Ego composui et nuper aggressus sum libros in quibus naturam rerum, hoc est vitam, narro. Quod opus novitium et a nullo Latinorum tractatum . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *In litteris nostris* (Praef. 33). Ipse alibi: *procul a nobis nostrisque litteris absint ista . . .*. Dicimus etiam *litteratulum* diminutivum a *litterato*, sed frequentius in contemptum, ut Hieronymus in Rufinum: *videris tibi litteratulus*. Idem et *litterulas* protulit pro brevi epistola.

Book I. [Inc.]: C. Plinii Secundi historiarum mundi Elenchos, librorum omnium triginta septem liber unus, qui primus. Codices vetusti haec verba habent, quae in his qui sunt recenter manu scripti aut impressi desiderantur. Est ridenda quorundam imperitia dicam aut insania qui nullum verbum Latinum esse volunt, omnia Graecis ascribentes, etiam nomina, ut qui *Plynium* per ypsilon in prima syllaba scribunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Tricesimo sexto, *marmora et lapides*. Argenti appellatione et factum argentum comprehenditur. Marmoris appellatione marmor expolitum non comprehenditur . . . . Quae restant indicis loca. Dum Christo Jesu adiutore singulos explanabimus libros, suis locis prosequemur.

In ed. Paris, 1519, two prefaces of interest have been added:

*Preface to entire volume.* Erasmus Rotterodamus reverendissimo patri D. Stephano Poncherio archiepiscopo Senonensi Salutem. [Inc.]: Cum nihil esset quod magnopere R.P.T. scire vellem, tamen huius humanissimi commendatoris praeter spem . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Scodrensis adnotationes in primum historiae mundi librum Beraldi auspiciis in Gallia nuper impressas percurri verius quam legi. Mihi certe nihil non placet quidquid ad tanti auctoris vel emendationem vel explicationem usquam gentium excuditur. Atque utinam in ea re a tam multis elaboretur, ut aliquando nobis integer Plinius ipse renascatur. Bene vale. Impudens sim si tibi commendem commendatorem et commendatori velim esse commendator, cuius opera spero me tibi fore commendatiorem, cui cupio esse quam commendatissimus. Lovanii, pridie Cal. Novembris, Anno M.D. XIX. Copum opto bene valere. (Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, IV, 73-74, no. 1016, redates the letter 2 October 1519.)

*Editor's preface to the commentary by Becichemus.* Nicolaus Beraldus Antonio Chrysoriano Basiliensi S.P.D. [Inc.]: Scire vis, Antoni iucundissime, quid de Becichemi Collectaneis in Plinium sentiam. Quid quaeris, mi Chrysoriane? An nescis



adhuc quam invitus has parteis subeam, qui iam olim meo periculo didici parum tutum esse de ingeniis iudicare? Legi equidem semel neque contemptim tamen hasce Scodrensis observationes, scire cupiens ecquid ab Hermolao Barbaro, Nicolao Siphontino [i.e., Perottus] et eo quem ubique sic exagitat, Raphael Regio, dissentiret. Placuit mihi non parum hominis diligentia in pensitandis Plinii scriptis, excutiendisque obscuris ac reconditis eiusdem sensis. Placebit et tibi, scio, si quidem ea animi intentione in his legendis uteris, qua in evolvendis caeteris id genus scriptis omnibus uti soles. Neque est quod quisquam contemnat, quod minutissima quaeque nonnunquam persequitur hic observator. Nam eo nomine magis est (opinor) laudandus, ut qui prodesset contentus, ubique ambitiosis utilia praeferat . . . / . . . [Expl.]: bonarum litterarum atque utriusque linguae studiosos, quibus non minus fuisse me semper nosti quam meis. Parisiis, Sexto Idus Septembris. (The date of this letter indicates that it must have been written earlier than 1519, since the colophon of this edition is dated "ad Decimum Kalendas Augusti" of that year.)

*Editions:*

[1503–1504, Brescia: A. and J. Britannicus?]. With his *Commentationes in Ptolomei quadripartitum* and other commentaries. Index Aureliensis \*115.455; Brunet, *Manuel I*<sup>1</sup>, 730; Graesse, *Trésor I* (1922), 320. BM; Vienna NB.

(\*)1504, [Venice: Albertus de Lisona]. Following his *Praelectio*. DK 14.4129; Index Aureliensis \*115.457. Vienna NB; Erlangen UB.

1519. See above, Composite Editions.

Note: Early bibliographers' reports on the Italian editions of this commentary and of the same author's *Praelectio* are confused, perhaps because the publishers bound together various short works of Becichemus into miscellanies which have been mistaken for distinct editions. I have here relied on the bibliographical information in DK and *Index Aureliensis* for the editions not seen.

*b. Elegans ac docta in C. Plinium Praelectio.*

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1519). Marinus Becichemus Scodrensis Andreae Lauretano praetori salutem. [Inc.]: Praelectionem nostram in C. Plinium Secundum extemporaliter ferme habitam, pluribusque et diversis diebus membratim effusam, ingenui quidam iuvenes, eruditi plane nostrique nominis studiosi, composuerunt et in unum corpus redactam temerario editionis honore divulgaverunt. Dolui sane, tum quia non me dereliquerat tum quia eodem tenore, iisdem verbis in quae tumultuarius praecipendi sermo prorupit, ita ut non ultimam sed ne primam quidem (ut ita dicam) auctoris manum senserit, ad manus populi pervenisset. . . . Abstinere fortasse ab inscriptione et nuncupatione satius fuisset. Quoniam sine nomine evanisset uti pleraque carmina, epistolae, orationes, et commentarii, quae scripta meo nomine circumlata, negligentia aut festinatione excipientium corrupta, aut nullam aut perquam minimam nostri partem habebant. Caeterum illa paucis manu scripta, haec omnibus impressa. Ad hoc materia ipsa nuncupationem exigebat ex argumenti qualitate, quo velut aliud agentem me tueri oportuit et necessario defendere a calumniis et obtrectationibus religiosissimi illius homeromastigos [i.e., Raphaelis Regii], qui oblitus se senem esse et hominem (quod et adolescens et iuvenis fecit) sive vera sive falsa simultate omnes insinuat sacrilegusque fossor et verius quam homo, hominis adversarius, doctos et bonos omnes ex adverso appellat. Livido vultu, fronte caperata, hirsutis supercilis, rugoso intuitu, distorto ore, omnium insectatur mores, literas, ingenia. Tu vero Andrea Lauretane unus et unicus hic ac prope singularis totum terrarum orbem velut ex specula perlustranti mihi visus es, cui praelectionem ipsam inscriberem. Non quia me profugum et ignotum in tuo contubernio inque intimis esse voluisti, . . . sed quia quum vitam meam diligenter excusseris fidemque meam in privatis rebus tuis et publicis omnibus negotiis velut aurum igne probaveris,

tu veritatis propugnator acerrimus, qui mentiri aut mendacium dicere nunquam didicisti, tu iustitiae alumnus et specimen clarissimum, te veritati non mihi testem (si opus fuerit) facies, vel potius inter me et accusatorem istum diiudicabis. Atque ubi me pro veritate et iustitia tua (uti spero) publice oreque rotundo probaveris, calumniatorem istum literariae professionis corruptorem ex publicis privatisque gymnasiis detrudes . . . . Summa tamen gloria tibi erit, iustissime Praetor, si hanc literam maculam et studiorum omnium pestem ab omni Venetae ditionis academia excuneandam curaveris . . . . Errores enim publicos ac diuturnos, magnas vires, et acerrimos defensores sibi comparasse, saepenumero compertum est. Hic, hic est ille, clarissime Praetor, qui benedicendi facultatem titulo tenus, re autem vera maledicendi artem profitetur, verbo et exemplo in doctos et eloquentes viros impias calumnias et execrabiles adversus frugi et probos homines insectationes docet pariter et exercet. Hic, hic est ille qui Fabium depravavit, alteram Ro[manae] lin[guae] lucem, poetarum ingeniosissimum caligine obduxit; Plinium, sine quo vix Latini docti esse possunt, foedavit; Latinitatem totam corrupit. Testes olim fuerunt Ragusinae, Vergilianae, Persianaque annotationes atque variae observationes nostrae, quae maledicum hominem, si homo est, qui huiusmodi vitiorum genus sectatur licet suppresso nomine imperitissimum ostenderunt. Cras aut perendie testimonium reddent excepta in Plinianam epistolam *Collectanea*. Latius tamen testabuntur et plenius quae subsequuntur in Quintilianum et Nasonis transformationes adnotamenta . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: et praestantissimus Romanae linguae principes ab iniuria vindicabis, triaque honestissima consecutus cognomina, ut Venetus Cato, alter Aristides, et studiorum nostrorum Camillus appellatus, in aeternum vivas. Brixiae, viii Kal. Septembris. MDIII.

Marini Becichemi Scodrensis in C. Plinium Secundum Praelectio.

[*Inc.*]: Quum, Praetor et amplissimi patres, in omni ratione id videatur plenum atque perfectum cuius principium sit po-

tentissimum . . . . Quum C. Plinium Secundum in hoc excellentissimo gymnasio in quo mihi principatum dedistis enarrandum sumpserim, hodiernam praelectionem in partes quinque distinguam . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Quae si tantis meritis pares non erunt, ab animo gratissimo tanquam pares ut accipiat, etiam atque etiam rogo. Dixi.

Finis praelectionis in Plinium Secundum.

Editions<sup>1</sup>:

(\*)[1503? Brescia?]. Index Aureliensis \*115.452; Brunet, *Manuel I*<sup>1</sup>, 730. BN.

(\*)1504, Ferrariae (Ferrara): [Laurentius de Rubeis]. Index Aureliensis \*115.456; Panzer VII, 3, 2. Oxford BL.

(\*)1504, [Venice: Albertus de Lisona]. With his *Collectanea* and other writings. DK 14.4129; Index Aureliensis \*115.457. Berlin SB; Vienna NB.

1519. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography*:

Marinus Becichemus, often called *Scodrensis* from his birthplace (Marino Becichemo, da Scutari) was born about 1468 at Scutari in Dalmatia. He left that city when it was besieged by the Turks in 1477, received a humanistic education at Brescia under Johannes Calphurnius and Christophorus Barzizius, and then made his career as a teacher of humanities, first at Ragusa, then at Venice and Padua, next from 1502 at Brescia, then from 1509 to 1517 at Venice again, and finally from 1517 to his death in 1526 at Padua, where he held the chair of oratory. In 1514 Isabella d'Este invited him to teach at Mantua, but there is no evidence that he did more than pay a visit there. He was a bitter critic of his rival Raphael Regius, who had attacked Becichemus' competence while he was teaching privately at Venice and who later successfully competed against him for the chair of rhetoric at Padua vacated by the death of Calphurnius in 1503. Not till 1517 did Becichemus finally win this professorship, which he filled with great distinction.

*Works*: In addition to his Pliny com-

<sup>1</sup>See note concerning editions of *Collectanea*, above.

mentary and the *Praelectio* on Pliny, Becichemus composed many orations for academic and state occasions; works of classical scholarship such as his *Centuria epistolicarum quaestionum* (1505) and his textual notes on Apuleius, Victorinus, and Cicero (he upheld the Ciceronian authorship of *Rhetorica ad Herennium*); and technical works on the art of letter-writing (e.g., *De componenda epistola*). Most of these works (but not those on Pliny) were collected in an unauthorized edition by the printer Angelus Britannicus (Brescia, 1505?), *In hoc codice continentur haec opera eloquentissimi oratoris Marini Becichemi Scodrensis* . . . . Becichemus promptly issued an authorized edition critical of the first (Venice: Bernardus Venetus de Vitalibus, 1506). His notes on Cicero appeared in several editions of that author; and his later orations delivered while he was professor of eloquence at Padua appeared as *Orationes tres* (Venice? 1521).

*Bibl.*: C. H. Clough in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* VII, 511–515; Cosenza I, 478–480; V, 231; Fabricius, BLMA V, 29; Emilio Santini, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, VI, 467; Zeno, *Diss. Voss.*, II, 404–420.

Simeone Gliubich, *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia* (Vienna, 1856), p. 25ff.; Giuseppe Marangoni, "Lorenzo Bonamico e lo studio Padovano," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 1 (1900), 118–151, 301–318; 2 (1901), 131–196; Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, "Cultura e relazioni letterarie d'Isabella d'Este," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 37 (1901) 225–228.

## 12. BENEDICTUS JOVIUS

This unpublished commentary by Benedictus Jovius, *Enarratio praefationis historiae naturalis C. Plinii Secundi*, covers only the *Praefatio*. In one of the two known manuscripts, a later hand, perhaps that of the author's copyist and relative Luigi Raimondi, has added an alternative title, *Apologia contra Veronenses super patria Plinii Senioris*, no doubt because the commentary opens with an extended digression proving

that Pliny was a native of Como and not of Verona. This appears to be the same hand which in two other places in the manuscript has cancelled references to Erasmus and substituted the name of Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillaume Budé), probably indicating that these alterations and the new title, as well as a few verbal changes in the opening section, were added about the middle of the sixteenth century, after the author's death, at a time when the new spirit of Counter-Reformation had made the name of Erasmus suspect in Italy. If Raimondi is the source of these alterations, they must be earlier than his own death in 1577. The date of Jovius' own commentary is uncertain. The primary manuscript (in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan) appears to have been put together under his supervision, though not written in his hand. Hence the death of Erasmus (1536), who is addressed in one of the letters, would provide the latest possible date. The dedication to Franciscus Minucius Calvus, with whom the author had a close literary connection in the early decades of the sixteenth century, points to a much earlier date, perhaps confirming the date given by the noted eighteenth-century Pliny scholar Antonius Josephus Torre di Rezzonico (*Disquisitiones Plinianae*, I, 20), 1508. The most recent student of the question, Ida Calabi Limentani, appears to regard this date as probable. The place of composition was Como, where Benedictus Jovius (unlike his more famous brother, Paulus Jovius, or Paolo Giovio) spent his whole life. Although the work opens with a digression on the native city of Pliny, its second half has the form of a conventional commentary.

*Benedicti Jovii Enarratio praefationis historiae naturalis C. Plinii Secundi ad Minucium Calvum.*

*Author's Preface* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. J 47 inf.). [*Inc.*]: Praefationem in libros Naturalis historiae C. Plinii Secundi multi hactenus editis commentariolis enarrarunt. Nicolaus Perottus primus ut reor id effecit. Deinde Raphael Regius, [Cornelius] Vitellius, Lancilotus

Curtius, Marinus Becychemus id sibi negotii desumpserunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: Quare antequam enarrationem ipsam aggrediamur huius praefationis veram ut opinor lectionem ex variis observationibus emendatam subiecimus.

(The text of Pliny's *Praefatio* follows.)

*Commentary.* Benedicti Jovii Novocomensis Apologia contra Veronenses super patria Plinii Senioris [title is added in a later hand; see introductory discussion above]. [Inc.]: C. Plinius Secundus. Primum omnium in huius praefationis enarratione [the three preceding words are added in a later hand] hac apologia mihi faciendum putavi ut vulgatam opinionem convellam quorundam magno errore existimantium C. Plinium Secundum . . . amplius confingunt adversarii, de quo monumentis literarum nullum habetur [or habet] iudicium, nulla superest memoria.

Sed iam ad institutum redeamus. *Tito Vespasiano suo* (Praef. 1). Huius operis dicationem alii Tito, alii Domitiano imperatoribus factam asserunt, alii vero in medium relinquunt . . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Valerius Soranus in libris quos epopteidon scripsit*. Valerius Soranus theologus fuit Latinus, qui de sacris scripsit. Nam Graeca illa vox *epopteidon* mysteriorum interpretatur. Eius carmina huiusmodi circumferuntur:

Iupiter omnipotens regum rex ipse  
deusque

Progenitor genitrixque deum, rex unus  
et omnis

Pectora nostra tuo divino numine reple.

(Note: The other known manuscript, MS. Vat. Lat. 5896, shows some textual variants in the *explicit*: *Valerius Soranus in libris quos Epopteidon scripsit*. Valerius Soranus theologus fuit Latinus qui de sacris scripsit, nam Graeca illa vox *Epopteidon* id est mysteriorum interpretatur. Epoptes novitius sacerdos appellatur. Valerius Soranus quum ausus esset verum Romae nomen enunciare, in crucem sublatus est. Eius carmina huiusmodi circumferuntur: [the verses are identical to those in the Ambrosiana manuscript]).

*Manuscripts:*

(micro.) Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS. J 47 inf. A miscellany of letters and

treatises, *Lusuum farrago*, by Jovius or addressed to him. (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 294).

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Vat. Lat. 5896. In a miscellany with the title *Benedicti Iovii Novocomensis epistolae ad diversos*. (Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, roll no. 7093; Kristeller, *Iter* II, 336).

*Biography:*

Benedictus Jovius (Benedetto Giovio), of Como, elder brother of the noted scholar and historian Paulus Jovius (Paolo Giovio), was born at Como about 1472 and died at Modena in 1544. He was in his own right a distinguished humanist. Unlike his brother, however, he spent his life in his native Como, leaving only to perfect his Greek by studying under Demetrius Chalcondylas at Milan. He was known as a translator from Greek and Latin, as a Latin poet, as an expert on Vitruvius, and as an historian.

*Works:* Jovius and Bonus Maurus of Bergamo completed the translation of Vitruvius from Latin into Italian begun by Caesar Caesarianus: *De architectura libri decem, tradotti de latino in vulgare* (1521). He also published a poem, *De Venetis Gallicum trophaeum* (1510); and several of his poems appeared in collections by several authors, especially *Disticha ad Franciscum Julium Calvum* (n.d.) and Lud. Bighius Pictorius, *Sacra et satirica epigrammata* (1518). His most important work, *Historiae patriae* [i.e., *Novocomensis*] *libri duo*, was published only after his death (1629). Modern editions of his works include vernacular translations of his verse by Maurizio Monti, *Le fontane dei dintorni di Como* (1866); *Historia Patria*, translated into Italian by Francesco Fossati (1890); his *Lettere* (1891); and a collection of *Opere scelte* (1877).

*Bibl.:* *Biographie Universelle*, XVI, 511; Cosenza, II, 1853, and V, 246.

Giovanni Battista Giovio, *Gli uomini della Comasca diocesi* (Modena, 1784), pp. 100–103, 370–373; idem, "Elogio di Benedetto Giovio," in Andrea Rubbi, ed., *Elogi Italiani* (12 vols.; Venice, 1782–1783), vol. VII; Paulus Jovius (Paolo Giovio), *Elogia virorum litteris illustrium*, in his *Opera*, VIII (1972),

126-127; Ida Calabi Limentani, "La lettera di Benedetto Giovio ad Erasmo," *Acme*, 25 (1972), 5-37, especially pp. 8-13, a valuable discussion of the Milan manuscript and of the composition and later history of the Pliny Commentary.

### 13. ANTONIUS FABER

This commentary covers only the preface of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* and can be dated only from the colophon of the one known edition, Rome, 11 October 1510. The author calls himself Antonius Faber Ferrariensis but seems to be identical with the humanist commonly known as Antonius Faber Amiterninus, or de Amiterno, also called Antonio da Cittaducale, who was then active in Rome and who about that time became professor of eloquence at the Sapienza.

Antonii Fabri Ferrariensis ad Lectorem praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Cum Marcus ille Tullius Cicero, Romanae linguae decus et oratorum omnium facile princeps, penes Marcum Catonem . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: Martianum Capellam commentationes iam mihi incude positas expecta, illudque maiorum vigiliarum munus, ut inquit Cicero, apparebit. Valeas.

Antonii Fabri Ferrariensis commentationes in praefationem naturalis historiae Plinii Secundi aeditae. [*Inc.*]: *libros naturalis historiae*. Tria iuxta Rhetoricorum normam, hoc exordio exequitur praecepta Plinius. Primum enim strictim proponens quae tractaturus sit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *In libris quos Epoptedion inscripsit . . .* mitigati sumus initiaque, ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitae cognovimus; sed more suo Cicero facit.

#### *Edition:*

(micro.) 1510, Romae (Rome): Iacobus Mazochius. Panzer VIII, 250, 37; Fabricius, BL I, 509; Schweiger II, 799. Vatican Library (Stamp. Barb. K. III 56).

#### *Biography:*

Antonius Faber, Ferrariensis, appears to be identical with the humanist Antonio Fabro Amiternino (de Amiterno), or Antonio di Cittaducale, born at Amiternum (variously identified with San Vittorino in the

Sabine hills or Cittaducale in the province of Aquila), probably shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century. He died of the plague near Rome in 1522. He was famed for his mastery of Latin and Greek and for his eloquence, and attracted the interest of the Medici family, becoming tutor to Giulio de' Medici, the future Pope Clement VII. His appointment to the chair of eloquence at the Sapienza in Rome was probably due to the favor of Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici). In this professorship he was successor to the famous Pietro Marso. Thanks to his powerful patrons, Faber gained many valuable benefices. According to a nearly contemporary story, he contracted his fatal disease because after leaving Rome to avoid the plague he returned to carry away his books (or his money). Dragonetti (*Vite*, 39-42) cites a document suggesting that Amiterno may have been his family name, but then is at a loss to explain the use of *Fabro*.

*Works:* Although supposedly he wrote much, he published almost nothing. The present commentary, known to few of his biographers, appears to be the only one published under his own name, though a few poems were in collections published by others. Paolo Giovio records his epitaph for his friend Marcus Musurus, the Greek scholar.

*Bibl.*: Cosenza I, 218, and V, 30; Fabricius BL, I 509; Ferrari, *Onomasticon*, 291.

Alfonso Dragonetti, *Le vite degli illustri Aquilani* (Aquila, 1847), pp. 39-42; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter* (3rd ed.; Stuttgart, 1881), VIII, 295-296; new ed. of same by Waldemar Kampf (Basel, 1957), III, 499-500; Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples, 1844), p. 121; Giovanni Bernardino Tafuri, *Istoria degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (3 vols. in 10; Naples, 1744-1770), III, i, 114-118; Nicolò Toppi, *Biblioteca Napoletana* (Naples, 1678), pp. 23, 27.

### 14. NICOLAUS BERALDUS

This variorum commentary, published in

1516 as part of the edition of *Naturalis historia* brought out at Paris by Nicolaus Beraldus and Reginaldus Chalderius, is the work of Beraldus but draws openly on the work of a number of humanists who had a reputation for knowledge of Pliny, but most of whom did not themselves produce a commentary: the commentators were Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus and Philippus Beroaldus; the others were Raphael Volaterranus, Desiderius Erasmus (who edited Pliny in 1525 for the Froben press but did not provide a commentary), Gulielmus Budaeus (Guillaume Budé), and Christophorus Longolius (Christophe de Longueil). Longolius in particular had been deeply involved in the study of Pliny and apparently made a substantial contribution to the commentary of Beraldus, as the latter warmly acknowledges in the dedicatory epistle (for Longolius' contribution, see Simar, *Musée Belge*, 13 [1909], 202–205). Beraldus also acknowledged the help he received from the work of Bude on ancient coins, *De asse et partibus eius* (1513), which dealt at length with relevant passages in Pliny. Of all the sources acknowledged by Beraldus' notes, however, Longolius is most frequently cited. Since Beraldus in his dedication states that Longolius had produced notes of his own on Pliny, and since these notes are not now known, Longolius will also be discussed below under the heading "Doubtful and Spurious Commentaries." The commentary of Beraldus appears at the ends of chapters in many but not all books of Pliny (included are Books I, II, VI–XVIII, XXVI, XXIX, and XXXIII). The edition also has a substantial marginal gloss to the text of all books except XVII, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII.

The concluding note of Beraldus, affixed to the *Prooemium* of Book XXXIII, describes how a friend brought to the editor's attention an old codex of Pliny corrected by the hand of Raphael Volaterranus just as the printers had reached that point in the text, and claims that from that point to the end, readings from the Volaterranus codex have been introduced into the text. The person here mentioned is apparently not the Pliny commentator Raphael

Regius, who is sometimes incorrectly given the toponym *Volaterranus* although in fact he was from Bergamo, but rather the humanist Raphael Maffei Volaterranus (1451–1522). Since Beraldus seems to be referring to a set of annotations by Raphael added to a manuscript of Pliny, and since these notes are not otherwise identified, Raphael will be listed below under "Doubtful and Spurious Commentaries."

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1516). Nicolaus Beraldus clarissimo viro Nicolao Bracheto, regio consiliario, S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Fuit quondam grammaticis, quos Plato *Rhapsodos*, Horatius *Criticos* vocat, in omne scriptorum genus ea vel potestas vel auctoritas . . . . Quod vero ad institutum attinet, affirmare tibi posse videor elaborasse me magnopere ut hic noster Plinius longe omnium qui hactenus impressi sunt et distinctissimus esset et emaculatissimus. Collectis enim multis variisque exemplaribus, praeterquam quod librariorum vulnera, quae supra milia quinque fuerant ab Hermolao [Barbaro] primum curata sed quae recrudescere posse viderentur, nova iterum ceu cicatrice aut splenio conteximus, illud etiam curavimus ut si quid esset praeterea ab aliis vel docte vel restitutum vel expositum, idipsum brevi scholio adscriberemus. Qua in re haud parum nos iuvit Christophori Longolii diligentia, qui ut est pectore in totum candidissimo, in nos vero etiam peculiari quadam benevolentia ac studio, quae ipse sibi in suo codice praeter Hermolaum adnotaverat, ultro petentibus nobis impertiit, vir non modo Graece Latineque doctissimus sed iurisconsultus etiam ac philosophus eximius, planeque ut Homerus inquit, ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων, Plinii vero ipsius Plinianaque et dictionis et doctrinae usque adeo studiosus ut non modo Plinium ipsum totum iam saepius legendo contriverit sed commentarios etiam olim iam scribere in eundem coeperit aliquando, ut et speramus et optamus, in lucem exituros. Adiecimus ea quoque quae nuper Budaeus, Galliae huius nostrae (absit verbo invidia) praecipuum decus, in commentariis de Asse et eius partibus in Plinii locos non paucos observaverat, quae utinam plura fuissent ac

frequentiora. Quaedam et nos nostro (quod dicitur) Marte in Plinio monstra domuimus, partim rei ipsius de qua ageretur, partim Pliniani styli accurata sagacique coniectura. Ex iis quaedam tamen arbitraria, quaedam nobis adhuc incompertiora quam ut pro veris edi statuique debeant. Neque enim integram auctoris huius restitutionem spondemus, id quod et singularis cuiusdam doctrinae, ingenii summi ac prope caelestis, nedum nostri, inexhaustique et operis est et laboris .../...[*Expl.*]: veram philosophiam, ita ut facit, amare pergat, et Erasmum nostrum a fictis istis Scauris areopagitisque quibusdam defendere. Luteciae Idibus Octob.

(Before the text of *Naturalis historia* with Beraldus' commentary, Beraldus inserted the ancient texts usually used to begin editions of Pliny, biographical materials consisting of two letters of Pliny the Younger and passages from Suetonius, Tertullian, and Eusebius; he also prefixed the first of the two commentaries by Philippus Beroaldus (see p. 332 above). The commentary of Beraldus does not cover *Praefatio* or Book I but begins with Book II.)

*Commentary.* Adnotationes primi capituli. *Si una omnes incubarent* (II, 3). Sunt qui legant *uni* magno errore ut adnotat Hermolaus. Quidam *una omnes incubaret*, ut ad naturam referatur *una* adiectivum. *Incubaret* vero hoc loco *amplecteretur* seu *comprehenderet* interpretantur. Quam lectionem ut veram et sinceram comprobat Christophorus Longolius, vir Graece Latineque doctissimus, qui innumeros apud auctorem hunc locos vel dissimulatos ab Hermolaio vel parum accurate animadversos atque expositos, summa cura ac pari iudicio restituit, vir unus mortalium omnium diligentissimus, humanissimus, candidissimus. Quod ergo Plinii libros sis longe omnium qui unquam in publicum exiere emendatissimos habiturus, Longolii nostri diligentiae acceptum referas necesse est, Lector candide. Longolianae porro diligentiae argumenta deinceps videbis non singulis modo capitibus sed singulis paene versibus .../... [*Expl.*, in *Prooemium* of Book XXXIII]: Adnotatio. Processerant hactenus chalcographi quum

mihi forte ab amico quodam, homine sane quam docto, oblatus est Plinii codex quispiam pervetustus Raphaelis Volaterrani diligentia multis locis, ita enim [in] index manu scriptus praeferebat, adnotatus et contra receptam inveteratamque lectionem restitutus. Ex eo nos quaedam quae ad sequentium librorum emendationem pertinerent non segniter praecerpimus, servato tamen modo adhibitoque delectu, ut liber hic nova ceu coronide auctus commendator in lucem exeat. Boni consule lector.

*Edition:*

1516. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Nicolaus Beraldus (Nicolaus Béraud or Berault), born at Orleans in 1473, died about 1550. This prominent French humanist was probably educated at the university of his native city, which had a great reputation in jurisprudence. He spent some time in Italy and then returned to Orleans, where he lectured at first on literature and from 1511 on law. By 1514, however, he had moved to Paris, where he associated with the leading humanists, especially Guillaume Budé, and prepared editions and translations as an editor for the scholar-publisher Jodocus Badius Ascensius. After the death of his first wife, he was remarried about 1516 at Paris to the widow of the printer Jean Passet, also known as Barlier. Henceforth for a time he directed his press and in this way became the publisher of his own commentary on Pliny. By 1518, however, he had disposed of his business interests and was in the service of the Crown as a member of diplomatic missions which met Henry VIII of England in 1518 and conferred with an imperial delegation at Montpellier in 1519. Also in 1519, he began teaching oratory and Greek at Paris. His career in the 1520's remains obscure, but he seems to have retained his ties to the Court. In 1529, in recognition of an *Oratio de pace restituta* celebrating the Treaty of Cambrai, Francis I named him royal orator and historiographer. In 1530 his reputation for learning caused him to be chosen as tutor to the three sons of Louise de Montmorency, widow of the Maréchal de



Châtillon. These youths were Gaspard, future Admiral de Coligny; Odet, the future Cardinal de Châtillon, and Andelot. In 1533 he became a member of the household of Cardinal Odet. The later years of Beraldus are little documented. The last clear record of his being alive comes from 1539, but he is believed to have lived until about 1550 and to have become a Protestant. In any event, his son Franciscus, also a noted classical scholar, and his widow were openly Protestant.

*Works:* Most of the early work of Beraldus was as editor, translator, or commentator of authors ancient, medieval, and modern: Baptista Mantuanus, *De vita beata* (1505); Lorenzo Valla, *Elegantiae* (1508); Thomas Radinus Todischus, *Sideralis abyssus* (1514); Lucretius (1514); Justinian's *Institutes* (1516); William of Auvergne, *Operum summa* (1516); Guillaume de Montlaudun, *Apparatus . . . super Clementinas* (1517); Valerius Maximus (1517); Politianus, *Sylvae* (ca. 1518); Johannes Ravisius Textor, *Specimen epithetorum* (1518); the *Opera* of St. Athanasius (1519); Longolius, *Perduellionis rei defensiones duae* (1520); Quintus Asconius Pedianus, *In orationes M. Tullii Ciceronis enarrationes* (1520); Johannes Crastonus Placentinus, *Dictionarium Graecum* (1521); Guillaume Fichet, *Consolatio luctus et mortis Parrhisiensis* (1521); Leobinus Dallerius Aurelianus, *De mandatis quae Apostolica vocantur* (1521); Jacques, Bâtard de Bourbon, *La grande et très cruelle oppugnation de Rhodes* (1529); Theophylact, Archbishop of Bulgaria, *In omnes Divi Pauli epistolas enarrationes* (1534); and Plutarch, *De exilio libellus* (1517). This remarkable list of publications, some of which he "edited" only by providing an introductory letter but others of which he studied closely, reflects his versatility and catholicity of taste. These same traits appear in his more independent publications: lectures on Cicero's *De legibus* and Politianus' *Rusticus* (both 1515); *Metaphrasis in Oeconomicon Aristotelis* (1515); *Psalmi LXXI et CXXX enarratio* (1529); *Oratio de pace restituta et foedere sancto apud Cameracum* (1529); *De vetere ac novitia iurisprudencia oratio* (1533); and

*Dialogus quo rationes quaedam explicantur quibus dicendi ex tempore facultas parari potest* (1534).

*Bibl.:* Roman d'Amat, in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, V, 1473; Barroux, in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, I, 97; Bayle III, 325–328.

Louis Delaruelle, "Notes biographiques sur Nicole Bérault, suivies d'une bibliographie de ses oeuvres et de ses publications," *Revue des bibliothèques*, 12 (1902), 420–445; idem, "Nicole Bérault: Notes biographiques suivies d'un appendice sur plusieurs de ses publications," *Le Musée Belge*, 13 (1909), 253–312; idem, "Notes complémentaires sur deux humanistes: 1. Nicole Bérault," *Revue du seizième siècle*, 15 (1928), 311–318; Eugène and Emile Haag, *La France Protestante* (2nd ed., 1877–1888), II, 298–302.

On the share of Longolius in the genesis of Beraldus' composite Pliny commentary, see Thé[odore] Simar, "Christophe de Longueil, humaniste (1488–1522)," *Le Musée Belge*, 13 (1909), 202–205.

## 15. FRANCISCUS DE VILLALOBOS

This commentary, dated 1524 from the year of the first and only edition, covers the first book (really only the *Praefatio*) and second book of *Naturalis historia*. It was probably an outgrowth of the author's interest in medicine, though the dedicatory epistle also acknowledges the interest in Pliny expressed by Alfonso de Fonseca, Archbishop of Toledo. The book calls itself a gloss (*Glossa litteralis in primum et secundum naturalis historiae libros*) but is really a commentary, accompanying the text of Pliny.

*Preface.* Ad lectorem. Francisci de Villalobos artium ac medicinae doctoris super Prooemium Plinii glossa incipit.

Eiusdem ad lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Nicolaus Perottus Sipontinus praesul, vir quidem multiplicis doctrinae et in litteris Latinis atque Graecis promptus, totum prooemium Plinii primus exposuit . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: quae recte dicuntur, minus rectis pensare debet, quod si recta utiliaque prae-

ponderant, cur vituperare potius quam laudare contendet. Vale.

(A *Tabula*, reproducing the corresponding materials for Book II in the *Elenchus librorum* which constitutes Book I, follows.)

*Naturalis historiae liber primus.*

*Caii Plinii Secundi Veronensis naturalis historiae liber primus. Praefatio.*

*Commentary* (with text). [*Inc.*]: In principio operis sui Plinius praeponit de more scribentium prooemium, in quo primum Tito Vespasiano hos libros naturalis historiae dicare . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *litteris nostris*, scilicet Latinis, *Valerius Soranus in libris quos epoptidon scripsit*, scilicet in libris spectaculorum. Et hic in expositione prooemii metam ponimus. Deo gratias.

Expositio litteralis in Plinium Veronensem Francisci de Villalobos, medici divi Caroli Caesaris Augusti, Romanorum, Hispaniarum, et utriusque Siciliae invictissimi regis, et insularum oceani occidentalis et vastissimi continentis usque ad alteram terrae faciem imperatoris potentissimi, feliciter incipit.

Operis praefatio in sex capitula divisa.

*Dedication.* Illustrissimo principi et reverendissimo praesuli, domino Alfonso de Fonseca Toletano archiepiscopo atque Hispaniarum primati, Franciscus de Villalobos artium medicinaeque professor, S.D.

Capitulum primum.

[*Inc.*]: Cum nuper intra moenia Burgensis urbis apud te essem, generosissime praesul, maximoque affectu abs te interrogatus fuisset . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: et haec quidem de subiectis ac divisionibus libri tantum dicimus, cuius partes late ac diffuse declarandae in processu restant.

Incipit glossa.

*Preface.* [*Inc.*]: Plinium de historia naturali a prima sua iuventa languescentem accuratissimi rhetores atque etiam clarissimi oratores multis saeculis habuerunt in cura . . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: quia de medicinis multa secreta et saluberrima documenta nobis praestat. Hanc introductionem hic inserendam utile esse arbitratus sum.

*Commentary*, Book II (with text). [*Inc.*]: In hoc ergo primo capitulo Plinius tractat de tota pila et globo caelestis corporis, omnia

quidem corpora naturalia regentis. . . / . . . [*Expl.*]: *terramque nonagesimam sextam partem totius mundi* (II, 248). . . ergo dicere quod terra est una millesima nonagesima sexta pars totius mundi est ridiculum a doctis viris respuendum. Et haec de secundo historiae naturalis libro sufficiant. Deo gratias.

*Edition:*

(xerox) 1524, Compluti (Alcalà de Henares): Michael de Guia (with text). Antonio, BHN I, 498; Garcia, *Tipografia Complutense*, pp. 28-29, no. 60; Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, 520-521, no. 2806; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, *Catálogo*, IV, 319-321; Palau y Dulcet 229063. Madrid BN: Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina.

*Biography:*

Franciscus de Villalobos (Francisco López de Villalobos), Spanish humanist and physician, was born at Valladolid in 1469 and died no earlier than 1549, year of his last known letter. Descended from a Jewish family and perhaps himself a *converso*, he seems to have had (with one possible exception) no trouble with religious authorities and to have found a number of aristocratic patrons. He took his licentiate at Salamanca and later received a doctorate in medicine and arts, a title which appears in his Pliny commentary. His reputation for medical skill and his personal connections with members of the aristocracy caused him to be named physician to King Ferdinand I and then to the Emperor Charles V. He also had a substantial contemporary reputation as a writer in both Latin and Castilian.

*Works:* *El sumario de la medicina, con un tratado sobre las pestíferas buvas* (1498), a work containing an early poem on syphilis, was his earliest work; *Liber XII principiorum qui etiam appellatur Congressiones et epistolae* (1514); *Problemas de Villalobos* (1543). The latter work included his Castilian translation of the *Amphitryon* of Plautus. His name also appears as the editor of the Spanish portion of a multilingual dictionary, *Dictionarium quatuor linguarum, teutonicae, gallicae, latinae et hispanicae* (Louvain, 1556).

*Bibl.*: Antonio, BHN I, 498; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, XXXI, 159.

Carlos Calamita, *Figuras y semblanzas del Imperio: Francisco López de Villalobos, médico de reyes y príncipe de literatos* (Madrid, 1952); Antonio Maria Fabié, *Vida y escritos de Francisco López de Villalobos* (Madrid, 1886); Raphael Finckenstein, *Zur Geschichte der Syphilis: Die ältesten spanischen Nachrichten... und das Gedicht des F. López de Villalobos vom Jahre 1498* (Breslau, 1870).

#### 16. JOHANNES CAESARIUS

This commentary by the German humanist Johannes Caesarius is, according to the author's preface, a byproduct of his lectures on Pliny, for which he needed to improve the text of *Naturalis historia* both by correcting errors introduced since the valuable commentary by Hermolaus Barbarus and by identifying textual errors which had escaped Barbarus' notice. Caesarius claims to have made some four thousand improvements in the text of Pliny to which his commentary is annexed. In its original form, it must have been completed shortly before its publication in August, 1524, in two distinct editions by the same publisher, Eucharius Cervicornus. One of these is a single folio volume. The other, in octavo format, is divided into seven parts (each preceded by a brief summary of contents and covering five books: hence the name *quinarii* for the sections). In the two copies here used (BM and IU), these seven parts are bound differently as two and as four volumes. Caesarius' claim that he created the commentary and the emended text of Pliny for his own use without intending to publish it and then was persuaded by Cervicorn to allow publication suggests that at least a substantial part of the commentary had existed for some time before 1524.

In addition to this commentary of 1524, two partial editions show by their textual variations that Caesarius continued to work at and revise his notes on Pliny. The less substantially altered of these partial publi-

cations accompanied the 1536 Paris edition of Book II of *Naturalis historia*. The *incipit* and *explicit* of the 1536 notes are identical to those of the portion of the 1524 commentary which covered Book II. Closer inspection shows, however, that there have been some changes, not only the dropping of references to parallel passages in other books of *Naturalis historia* but also more substantial revision: some notes found in 1524 have been dropped, others have been abridged; and in addition, new notes not present in 1524 have been added (in Chapters VII, XI, XXVI, for example) and additions have been made to some of the older notes (in Chapter XIX, for example). More substantially revised, even to the point of constituting a separate work, was the commentary by Caesarius which accompanied the text of Books IX and XXXII of Pliny, printed along with other texts on fish as an appendix to an edition of Oppian's *Halieutica* (Strasbourg: Johannes Cammerlander, 1534). Although many of these notes are brief and textual in nature, some are quite extensive. Comparison with the relevant portions of the 1524 commentary shows that Caesarius provided a quite distinct set of notes. These no doubt draw on his earlier work but do not constitute a mere reprint or even a mere revision of the 1524 commentary. The text of these later notes to Books IX and XXXII will be recorded separately below.

##### a. Original Version (1524)

*Dedication* (ed. of Cologne, 1524). Ornatisimo viro et generoso et illustri domino, D[omino]. Hermanno comiti Nuenario, insignis ecclesiae Coloniensis praeposito, domino et Maecenati suo semper colendo, Ioannes Caesarius S.D. [*Inc.*]: Si verum est, quod Vulgo dici solet, videlicet, difficilius est collapsa reparare instaurareque quam nova de integro condere atque componere, ... cui iam dubium esse potest, maiores Hermolao Barbaro viro profecto nunquam satis laudato insumptos fuisse labores ad corrigendum, ad castigandum, ad emaculandum nobis opus historiae naturalis C. Plinii, quod locis propemodum innumeris

depravatum erat atque corruptum, quam ipsi Plinio ad illud scribendum componendumque? ... Hoc autem opus non tam ingens sua mole quam foecunditate praegnans, si quis semel a se diligenter lectum animo versat aliquoties, mirum si is non stupeat toties ad tot milia rerum, nempe viginti, in eo ipso ab auctore suo congesta et aptis et propriis verbis expressa, simulque et exitu tam iucundo conclusa omnia ut ipse interim legentis animus mirabili quadam expleatur teneaturque lectionis voluptate. ... Caeterum Plinius ita suo et veluti nativo nitori, immo vero ipse sibi potius restitutus et a tot mendis, foedissimis studiorum hostibus, vindicatus assertusque, ubi in lucem tandem prodierat a suo iam emissus vindice et per annos non paucos continuo subsequentes ad hoc usque aevum iterum atque iterum immo saepius excusus et in multa milia exemplaria transfusus erat, haud satis scio quo pacto eveniret ut toties non cum nitore illo suo sed semper fere tristior horridiorque apparuerit, videlicet non talis cui iam quasi postliminio reverso omnes bonarum literarum studiosi merito gratularentur sed cui peior sors aliqua accidisset, nisi hanc culpam ipsis chalcographis impingere velimus. ... Quae nimis causa fuit ut Plinius mihi posteaquam illum iam dedita opera ac summo adhibito studio excutere semel exacte tentatum aliquoties in hoc antea a me, sed frustra alioquin, ac deinde etiam praelegere in animo haberem, non parvum exhibuerit feceritque negotium adeoque ut hac de re non minores (ni fallor) quam Hermolaus, licet non tanto successu, labores subire ac per hoc complures saepenumero noctes (id quod ingenue fateor) insomnes transigere coactus fuerim, ad mendas in ipso, quae passim non parvo numero occurrebant, sustollendas suffodiendasque, quarum fortassis quaedam ab Hermolao nondum animadversae fuerant, quaedam vero, et maior omnino pars, vitio atque incuria chalcographorum, ut et supra memoravi, commissa est, quod equidem et citius crediderim et libentius admiserim. Utcunque autem res ea habet, illud ausim dicere nec fallo quenkum, ipsum Plinium post Hermolai editam castigationem per

me et mea opera inter praelegendum praecipue castigatum repurgatumque mendis non paucioribus quatuor milibus. Sed nec interim tamen ut ne postea quidem in mentem mihi venit ut meo hortatu ex mea qualicunque castigatione excuderetur unquam, non quia inviderem bonis et studiosis hanc meam quantulamcunque in Plinio collocatam operam sed quia conscius ingenii mei parvitat, iudicabam ipse semper ea quae per me in ipso castigata adnotataque erant non tanti esse ac per hoc supprimenda potius quam edenda. Tantum abest, ut ad hoc adhortatus essem quenkum unquam qui excudisset, nisi quia tandem crebris admonitionibus per Eucharium Cervicorum, haud incelebrem chalcographum apud Coloniam Agrippinam nec indoctum omnino virum, inductus, immo et improbis simul hominis precibus plane victus necnon et quibusdam non inefficacibus rationibus persuasus, illi Plinium meum permisi excudendum, uti eum ille excusum nunc duplici forma in commune exhibet cum annotationibus breviusculis et quidem extemporariis in margine adiectis .../... [*Expl.*]: Et iam confido prorsus de tua viris omnibus probe doctis spectata benevolentia fore, ut hanc de me curam non invitus subiturus sis, ac velis etiam quoniam maxime possis. Bene Vale.

*Praefatio. [Inc.]: Catullum conterraneum meum.* Habes de hoc Catullum in ipso statim operis sui principio apud quem ita legitur: "Nanque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas." [*Expl.*]: *Iamiam Musae*, πανδέχται, ἐγχειρίδιον, λειμών, πινακίδιον. Quidam has vuculas graecas ita legunt, ut sint genitivi casus hoc modo: *Iam iam mox πανδέκτης, ἐγχειριδίων, πινακιδίων*. Verum a quibus hae voces *musae* et λειμών non adscribuntur.

*Book II. [Inc.]: Mundum et hoc quod nomine alio.* Ut mundum hoc loco et caelum vocari ipsius Plinii verba indicant, ita vicissim et caelum mundum appellari, non modo Aristoteles in libro qui ab eo de caelo inscribitur sed et Plato in Timaeo et Cicero in libro de universi[tate] ostendit.../... [*Expl.*]: *Ionacae* (i.e., *cum onyche*: XXXVII, 186). Ionacae, non Ionice, legendum. Est autem Ionaca oppidum in Perside Ptole-

maeo. *crocian* (XXXVII, 191). Crocias a Croco.

*Publisher's postscript.* Eucharius Cervicornus studiosis S. [*Inc.*]: Habetis hic, candidissimi bonarum literarum amatores, diu quidem et anxie a vobis expectatum Plinii Secundi, gravissimi scriptoris, naturalis historiae insigne plane et eruditum opus .../... [*Expl.*]: verum memineritis neminem probe eruditum (id quidem et ab Hermolao Barbaro non semel proditum est) videri, qui Plinium non attigerit. Valete. Nonis Augusti.

*Editions* (all with text):

1524, Coloniae (Cologne): Eucharius Cervicornus (octavo edition). NUC. BM; BN; Vienna NB; (DNLM; CSt; IU).

1524, Coloniae (Cologne): Eucharius Cervicornus (folio edition). NUC. BM; Vienna NB; IU).

1536, Parisiis (Paris): Christianus Wechel (on Book II only, with text of that book). BM; BN (BN dates it 1537, evidently translating the printed date into modern style).

*Doubtful Edition:*

1565, Coloniae (Cologne): Maternus Cholinus. Schweiger II, 788.

b. Altered Form (Books IX and XXXII only)

*Dedication* (ed. of Strasbourg, 1534). Illustri et generoso domino, domino Reinero e comitibus a Vuesterborch, decano et canonico insignis ac maioris ecclesiae Coloniensis, &c., viro dignissimo magnificentissimoque, Ioannes Caesarius salutem. [*Inc.*]: Quod bona fide promittitur, fit saepenumero ut differatur aliquandiu, non etiam auferatur. Quorsum istud, inquires fortassis .../... [*Expl.*]: dignae profecto anathemate longe maiori. Bene valeat tua gratia, quae et me sibi commendatum semper velit. Moguntiae ex aedibus Dominorum Teutonicorum, An[no]. M. D. XXXIII. mense Septembri.

(Preceding the commentary are several texts: *Vita Oppiani* by Laurentius Lippius Collensis, dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici; several Latin verses and other material concerning Oppian; the text of *Oppiani de*

*piscibus*, Laurentio Lippio Collensi interprete; additional Latin verses. The commentary is followed by Paulus Jovius, *De piscibus*. Commentary has the form of marginal notes to Books IX and XXXII of *Naturalis historia*.)

*Commentary, Book IX:* [*Inc.*]: *accremento* [i.e., *nutrimento*] *accipiente* (IX, 2). *Accremento*, scilicet ipso, ut sit sensus, *In mari tam late supino mollique ac fertili*, scilicet *accremento* causas genitales accipiente. Hinc Aristoteles lib. 6 Anim. cap. 17. inquit, Profecto omne genus piscium celeriter adolescit.../... [*Expl.* with three short notes]: *Quicquid ex eo mittitur* [IX, 180]. Quid si legas mutetur. *condemnatum* (i.e., *condemnatumque*: IX, 182). decem lib. subaudi, *condemnatum esse*, qui socio iniuriam fecerat. *stellam in mari* (IX, 183). De stella Aristo[teles]. lib. ix. cap. quin[to].

*Commentary, Book XXXII.* [*Inc.*]: *Caesariana classis* (XXXII, 3). Caligulae Caesar[is]. *in brachialibus habeant* (XXXII, 8). Brachialia dicuntur brachiorum cum ornamenta, tum tegumenta. *Murenam maculae* (XXXII, 12). *maculas ipsius retis i[d est]. foramina*.../... [*Expl.*]: *Eaedem et callo salsa madidae* (i.e., *eaedem callo e salsa*: XXXI, 127). Callo imponuntur salsa scilicet aqua. *nunc ex eadem* (i.e., *inplent ex eadem*: XXXI, 127). *eadem scilicet salsa aqua. quos vaporari oporteat* (XXXI, 128). vapor. ut sunt mulierum morbi. *Medici inscitia ad duo nomina* (XXXI, 131). Ad duo nomina, i[d est]. duo genera.

NOTE:

1) For some reason not now obvious, Caesarius in this edition of Oppian and related texts on fishes (but not in his full edition of *Naturalis historia* in 1524) substituted the last chapter of Book XXXI, Chapter XI, for the last chapter of Book XXXII, also Chapter XI. Hence the lemmata of the final portion of the text he prints are now to be found in Book XXXI, as here indicated. The actual last (eleventh) chapter of Book XXXII does, however, appear, properly identified, between the texts of Books IX and XXXII in this edition. The *explicit* if this text were moved to its proper position at the end of

Book XXXII would be: *Peractis aquatiliū dotibus* (XXXII, 142). *Peracta scilicet arte medendi ex piscibus. hepar* (XXXII, 149). *Hepar, in manuscripto exemplari est, hepar-cotinus. cybia* (XXXII, 151). *uraea cybia scilicet salsamenta caudae proxima.*

2) Although with one exception both the incipits and explicits here given are mere textual glosses, Caesarius' notes do include longer and more truly expository materials and hence are here included as commentary.

*Manuscript:*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8516-8517, fols. 172-176<sup>v</sup>. With other commentaries; lacks the prefatory materials. Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* II (1971), 43 (item no. 222; MS. no. 8516-17), does not distinguish this text of Caesarius from the long commentary which he lists as anonymous but which is actually by Laevinius Torrentius (q.v., below).

*Edition:*

1534, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Jacobus Cammerlander, Moguntinus. In a Latin edition of Oppian, *Halieutica*; covers Books IX and XXXII of Pliny, with text. NUC. BM; BN; (CU; DNLM).

*Biography:*

Johannes Caesarius, Juliensis (of Jülich), was born about 1468 at Jülich and died in 1550 at Cologne. Little is known about his early education, and the claim that he studied under Alexander Hegius in the famous school at Deventer may merely be a confusion based on the fact that he himself taught at Deventer in 1508. In 1491 he matriculated at the University of Cologne, and later he studied at Paris under Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. After several months of teaching at Deventer, in December of 1508 he accompanied his pupil Hermann, Graf von Neuenar (to whom he later dedicated his commentary on Pliny) to Rome on business for the cathedral chapter at Cologne. Caesarius spent part of 1509 at Bologna, where he perfected his mastery of Greek. Indeed, his role as a pioneer in teaching Greek on the Lower Rhine was the basis of much of his high contemporary reputation. Late in

1510 he settled in Cologne, not as a member of the university faculty but as a private teacher of Greek. He also taught that language for a time in Münster (1513). During a second trip to Italy, probably in the middle or latter part of that decade, he took a medical doctorate at Siena, and briefly practiced medicine upon his return to Cologne. Despite his lack of a fixed academic position and despite reports that scholastic conservatives drove him out of the city, Cologne became and remained his usual place of residence, though he made frequent short visits to teach at other places (Mainz in 1524 and 1529, Leipzig in 1527, and Wernigerode in 1528) and to enjoy the patronage of the aristocratic German families whose sons he tutored, such as the counts of Neuenar and Stolberg and members of other illustrious families—the Isenburg, Wied, Solms, and Schauenberg. His public lectures on Pliny and other ancient authors and his lessons in Greek were the real basis of his contemporary fame, for none of his editions of classical authors made a lasting contribution to scholarship. His pupils included humanists such as Heinrich Glareanus, Petrus Mosellanus, Agrippa von Nettesheim, Heinrich Bullinger, Johannes Rivius, and Gerardus Listrius. He corresponded with the leading figures of his age, such as Reuchlin, Melancthon, Spalatin, and Erasmus; and the latter even dedicated to him a translation of the popular Greek grammar by Theodore Gaza. His friendships on both sides of the religious schism express his own undogmatic and conciliatory approach to religion: though sympathetic to many parts of the reformers' program, he never broke with the old church.

*Works:* He edited and commented upon many authors, both ancient and modern: Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Epitome in moralem philosophiam* (ca. 1500) and *Introductio in Arithmetica Boethii* (ca. 1507); Horace, *Institutio moralis philosophiae metrica* (1504); Diomedes Grammaticus and Donatus (1526); Serenus Sammonicus, *De medicina* (1528); Celsus, *De re medica* (1528); Oppian, *Halieuticon* (1534); Johannitius, *Isagoge... in*

*artem parvam Galeni* (1534); Jodocus Clichtoveus, *Fundamentum logicae* (1534); Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae* (1535); and Orosius, *Adversus paganos* (1536). His original writings included *Dialectica*, *Rhetorica*, and *Compendiaria artis grammaticae institutio*, all first published about 1525, and the first two frequently reprinted. Bibliographers have often confused his works with those of the slightly younger Italian humanist, Johannes Caesarius Cosentinus (e.g., Cosenza, NUC, and the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books*).

*Bibl.*: Bayle IV, 289; Cosenza I, 756, and V, 98 (an article on Johannes Paulus Caesarius Cosentinus, but with some references which really refer to the German Caesarius); Eckstein, in ADB III, 689-691; Heinrich Grimm, in NDB III, 90-91; Jöcher I, 1544.

Eduard Böcking, ed., *Hutteni operum supplementum*, II<sup>2</sup>, 333-335; Gustavus Knod, *Deutsche Studenten in Bologna* (Berlin, 1899), no. 571; Carl Krafft, *Aufzeichnungen Bullinger's über sein Studium zu Emmerich und Köln* (Elberfeld, 1870), pp. 32-36, 122, 137; R. Kayser, in *Der deutsche Herold*, 44 (1913), 182-184; Wilhelm Risse, *Die Logik der Neuzeit*, 1. Bd.: 1500-1640 (Stuttgart, 1964); idem, *Bibliographia logica: Verzeichnis der Druckschriften zur Logik* (Studien und Materialien zur Geschichte der Philosophie, 1) (2 vols.; Hildesheim, 1965-1973), I, 243, *et passim*.

## 17. BEATUS RHENANUS

This commentary covers *Prooemium* and parts of Books VII, VIII, X, and XIV of Pliny. The date of the dedicatory epistle to Johannes à Lasco is 13 February 1526, and the place of composition is Basel. The commentary on *Prooemium* is set into the dedicatory epistle to Laski. Beatus' commentary is still important to editors of Pliny because it contains readings from the important *codex Murbacensis*, which is now lost. In addition to this commentary. Beatus wrote a letter sharply attacking the commentary published in 1530 by Stephanus Aquaeus (Étienne de l'Aigue). This work, which is not here in-

cluded, was published as an appendix to Beatus' *Rerum Germanicarum libri* (1531) and was reprinted at the end of his Pliny commentary in the edition of 1593.

*Dedication* (ed. of Basel, 1526). Illustri Poloniae Baroni, Ioanni a Lasco, Beatus Rhenanus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Saepe causas male acceptae rei literariae consideranti mihi, clarissime Lasce, in mentem venire solet, id quod verissimum esse puto, non tam Gothicas illas irruptiones.../...[*Expl.*]: ac cum vulgata Plinianorum voluminum aeditione diligenter conferas. Cuius rei te, nisi multum fallor, non poenitebit. Bene vale clarissime Baro. Basileae, Idibus Februarias Anno M.D.XXVI.

*Ex praefatione Pliniana*. [*Inc.*]: Inanem me fortassis operam sumpturum quidam arbitrabuntur, qui in Plinianis voluminibus post tot accuratas aeditiones.../...[*Expl.*]: Sed iam nostrae praefationi modum imponentes, ipsam Plinii praefationem bonis avibus aggrediamur.

*Commentary on Prooemium*. [*Inc.*]: *opus natum apud me*. *Natum* habent exemplaria typis excusa, vetus volumen manu scriptum, *natus*. Unde coniicio, *natos* legendum, ut ad libros referatur.../...[*Expl.*]: *sed ut quisque desideraverit*. In antiquo volumine, *desideravit* legitur, *u* loco *b* literae posito, quantum coniicio, ut debeat esse *desiderabit*.

(The text concerning the *Prooemium* then resumes the form of a letter addressed to Laski.) [*Inc.*]: Vidisti hactenus, clarissime Lasce, quanta diligentia Plinianam Praefationem excusserimus, et quam fortassis non luserimus operam.../...[*Expl.*]: *vaga lectione versati sumus, ita non continuas castigationes, sed intercisas et saltuatim annotatas proferemus*. Initium a septimo libro sumetur.

*Text of main portion of commentary begins with Prooemium to Book VII*. Ex libro septimo, ex Prooemio. *Mundus et in eo... insulae, insignes urbes*. In veteri codice manuscripto paulo aliter legitur, nempe sic, *Mundus et in eo terrae gentes maria insignie insulae urbes... Quid sibi vellet illud insignie... [Expl. (XIV, 53)]: Maroneum vicies tanto aquae miscendum*. E manuscripto volumine



reponendum est hic vocabulum *addito* omis-  
sum in vulgatis exemplaribus, hoc modo,  
*Maroneum vities tanto addito aquae miscen-*  
*dum Homerus prodidit.*

*Editions:*

1526, Basileae (Basel): Joannes Frobenius.  
Commentary only. Panzer VI, 253, 611;  
NUC; Adams R-437. Vienna NB; BN; Cam-  
bridge: Trinity, Trinity Hall; (CSmH;  
NNNAM).

1593. See above, Composite Editions.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva):  
Petrus and Jacobus Chouet. See above, Com-  
posite Editions.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): S.  
Crispinus. See above, Composite Editions.

1631. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions. Not  
an integral edition of Beatus' commentary,  
but a variorum commentary for which Beatus  
is one of the principal sources.

1778–1791. See above, Composite Edi-  
tions. Selections from Beatus as part of a  
variorum commentary, as in the preceding  
edition.

*Biography:*

Beatus Rhenanus (Beatus Bild von  
Rheinau) was born on 22 August 1485 at  
Sélestat in Alsatia and died at Strasbourg  
while on a journey, 20 July 1547. He studied  
in the noted Latin school at Sélestat un-  
der Craft Hofmann von Utenheim and Hie-  
ronymus Gebwiler, and then spent the years  
1503–1507 at the University of Paris, where  
he studied Greek under Georgius Hermony-  
mus, Latin poetry under Faustus Andrelinus,  
and Aristotelian philosophy under Jacobus  
Faber Stapulensis (Lefèvre d'Étaples) and  
Jodocus Clichtoveus (Josse Clichthove). His  
career as a humanistic editor for publishers  
had begun during his Paris years for Henri-  
cus Stephanus (Henri Estienne); and after  
returning to Germany, he settled at Stras-  
bourg, editing texts (largely works of Italian  
and French humanists) for Johannes Grü-  
ninger and Matthias Schürer. His fame  
really began to spread, however, only after  
his move in 1511 to Basel, where he worked  
with the great printers, especially Johannes  
Amerbach and Johannes Froben. He studied

Greek under the Dominican friar Johannes  
Cono, and became a close friend of Erasmus,  
many of whose works he saw through the  
press. He also gave private lessons in an-  
cient languages. From 1519 to 1526, he al-  
ternated his residence between Basel and  
Sélestat; but from 1526 he settled perma-  
nently in the latter place. Rhenanus followed  
Erasmus in remaining within the traditional  
church while still hoping for reform and  
peaceful reunion; but he was much less the  
public figure, devoting most of his life to  
study and to preparation of the humanistic  
editions which were the basis of his reputa-  
tion. He also shared the German humanists'  
interest in the antiquities of their own na-  
tion, and his *Rerum Germanicarum libri*  
*tres* (1531) was highly regarded at the time  
and still ranks among the major products of  
early German historiography. Beatus was a  
scholar's scholar, and his correspondence  
(published by Adalbert Horawitz and Karl  
Hartfelder: Leipzig, 1886) shows that he was  
close to most of the major German hu-  
manists of his time.

*Works:* Aside from *Rerum Germanicarum*  
*libri* and his correspondence, most of his  
published work was editorial: Editions of  
contemporary humanists: Faustus Andre-  
linus (1508 and 1509); Sabellicus (1509);  
Pomponius Laetus (1509); Pandolphus  
Collenuccius (1511); Johannes Picus Miran-  
dulanus (1511); and especially Erasmus, in-  
cluding *Moriae encomium* (1515), *Enchiri-*  
*dion militis Christiani* (1518); *Familiarium*  
*colloquiorum formulae* (1519), and the post-  
humous collected *Opera* (1540). Editions of  
Church Fathers: Gregory of Nyssa (1512);  
Prudentius (1520); *Auctores historiae eccle-*  
*siasticae* (1523); Tertullian (1521); Origen  
(1536); and St. John Chrysostom (1540).  
Editions of classical authors, in addition to  
the Pliny commentary: Pliny the Younger  
(1514); Suetonius (1514); Seneca, *De morte*  
*Claudii* (1515); Synesius (1515); Quintus  
Curtius Rufus (1518); Maximus of Tyre  
(1519); Tacitus, *Germania* (1519) and *An-*  
*nales* (1534); Velleius Paterculus (1520), an  
*editio princeps* based on an important  
manuscript now lost); Seneca's *Opera* (1529,

in co-operation with Erasmus); and Livy (1535). He also wrote a life of Erasmus to introduce his edition of his great friend's *Opera* (1540), and a life of the famed Strasbourg preacher Geiler von Kaisersberg (1510, prefixed to an edition of that author's *Navicula seu speculum fatuorum*). Under the pseudonym Licentius Evagrius, he edited the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua (1522). His letter criticizing the Pliny commentary by Stephanus Aquaeus and appended to his *Rerum Germanicarum libri* (1531) has been mentioned above.

*Bibl.*: Karl Hartfelder, in ADB XXVIII, 383-386.

Walter Allen, Jr., "Beatus Rhenanus, Editor of Tacitus and Livy," *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 382-385; A. Erichson, "Ein neues Dokument über Beatus Rhenanus," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 12 (1891), 211-213; F. Falk, "Zum Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus," *Historische Jahrbücher*, 28 (1907), 714-716; Alfred Hartmann, "Beatus Rhenanus, Leben und Werke des Erasmus," in *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestag des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Basel, 1936), pp. 11-24; Adalbert Horawitz, *Beatus Rhenanus* (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, Philosophisch-historische Classe, Bd. LXX, 1872; Bd. LXXI, 1872; Bd. LXXII, 1873); idem, *Die Bibliothek und Correspondenz des Beatus Rhenanus* (same series, Bd. LXXVIII, 1874); Hans Kaiser, "Aus den letzten Jahren des Beatus Rhenanus," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, 70 (1916), 30-52; Gustav Knod, "Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus von 1500-1507," in *Die Stadtbibliothek zu Schlettstadt* (Strasbourg, 1889), i-xi, 1-85; idem, "Zur Biographie und Bibliographie des Beatus Rhenanus," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 2 (1885), 253-276, and 3 (1886), 265-274; Erich König, "Zum Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus," *Historische Jahrbücher*, 33 (1912), 362-365; L. Pfeleger, "Beatus Rhenanus," *Elsassland*, 12 (1932), 302-306; Johannes Sturmius, *Beati Rhenani vita* (Basel, 1551); W. Teichmann, "Die kirchliche Haltung des Beatus Rhenanus," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 26 (1905),

363-381. For Beatus' *Briefwechsel*, see above, under *Biography*. For further bibliography, Schottenloher, *Bibliographie*, II, 175-176 (no. 17966-17987).

## 18. WOLFGANGUS GUGLINGER

The commentary of Wolfgang Guglinger, covering Book VII only, is dedicated to Johannes de Thurzo in a letter dated at Cracow on 15 August 1526. Except for this dedication, which refers to his desire to explain the text to "certain dear friends" and indicates that the author was living, and perhaps teaching, at Cracow, there is no evidence of the circumstances of composition.

*Dedication* (ed. of Cracow, 1526). Generosissimo domino, domino Ioanni Thursoni de Bethlemsala, camerario Crenniaensi, Comiti Zoliensi, libero domino Plesnensi, Maecenati suo, M. Wolfgangus Guglinger salutem cum sui commendatione optat. [*Inc.*]: In manus sumpseram nuper, magnificentissime Thurso, admirandos illos C. Plinii naturalis historiae libros, in quibus, cum et magna verborum gravitas... Longo itaque tempore suspensus, quomodo amiculis quibusdam hac in re vela secunda impellere possim... Deprompsi iccirco ex opere Pliniano quod non minus varium quam ipsa natura varia conspicitur, non coelum, non terras, non oceanum, non plantas, non gemmas, neque animantia aeris marisque, at unicum ipsum hominem, omnibus caeteris imperantem; neque me penitus vero ab scopo aberasse censeo, cum maximam sui thesauri partem selegerim... / ... [*Expl.*]: Iam nobilissime Thurso exile hoc munusculum meipsumque totum foveas, defendas ac pacato fronte suscipias. Vale, ac annos Crispicomarum albisimis avibus superato. Datum Cracoviae ex museo nostro XVIII Kalendas Septembris. Anno Christi M.D.XXVI.

*Book VII, Praefatio*. Caii Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae liber septimus, de homine. Prohoemium. [Text of Pliny follows.] Subordiuntur M. Wolfgangi Guglinger annotationes in Prohoemium. [*Inc.*]: *Mundus et in eo, etc.* Mundum unicum, idem et universum esse, multi censuere, alii unum vero non

universum, alii infinitos in infinito esse... / ...[*Expl.*]: *Hercule homini, etc.* Homo (inquit Plautus) lupus est homini, non homo, qui qualis sit non novit. Seneca epistola 103. Juvena. Saty. 15. Valerius Maxi. lib. 7. cap. 6. *Nulli rabies, etc.* Lege Coelium lib. 6 cap. 36 et lib. 4. cap. 11.

*Book VII, Main Text, Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: *In relatione* [VII, 6], id est, descriptione gentium, quas lib. 3, 4, 5, 6 Plinius descripsit. *Innumeri sunt, etc.* Tot sunt sententiae, quot homines, Terentius in Phormi. et idem suus cuique mos est. Persius Saty. 5.... / ... [*Expl.*]: Suscipe, candide lector, annotationes nostras plus aequo compendiosas, quas tamen ex citatis auctoribus Iliada longiores facili labore efficere poteramus. At si non sordescant, dabuntur mox maiora. Tu interim Vale.

*Edition:*

1526, Cracoviae (Cracow): Hieronymus Vietor. On Book VII only; with text. Schweiger II, 800. Vienna UB.

*Biography:*

Little is known about Wolfgang Guglinger, except that he matriculated in the University of Vienna in September of 1519 as "Vuolfgangus Guglinger ex Pruck" (probably the Austrian Bruck an der Leitha, near the Hungarian border), as a member of the *natio Austriaca*. His commentary (fol. A4<sup>v</sup>) shows that during his youth in Vienna, he was a friend of the noted professor of medicine Johannes Pillhamer (Pilhaymer, Pilheimer) of Haideck in Bavaria, who matriculated in the *Natio Renensium* at Vienna in the winter semester of 1495 and who had a distinguished career there, serving four times as dean of the medical faculty, twice as procurator of the Rhenish nation, two years as Bürgermeister of the city of Vienna, and from 1529 to his death in 1539 in the powerful position of Superintendent of the university, the provincial government's agent in charge of enforcing the ruler's reform legislation on the university. Just when Guglinger moved to Cracow is unknown, but his dedication of this commentary is dated "from our little temple of the Muses"

at Cracow, 15 August 1526. This dedication expresses his desire to expound Pliny to certain friends, perhaps an indication that Guglinger was teaching at Cracow, though his name does not appear in the published matriculation records of the University (*Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*). The Johannes Thurzo to whom he dedicated the commentary was probably a nephew of Stanislaus Thurzo (d. 1540), Bishop of Olmütz, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his edition of Pliny the preceding year, and of Johannes Thurzo (1466–1520), Bishop of Breslau, and perhaps the son or nephew of Alexius Thurzo, treasurer of the kingdom of Hungary. The Thurzo family were members of the lesser Hungarian nobility who had become very wealthy through the leasing of mining rights. They appear to have traditionally sent their sons to Cracow: both Bishop Johannes and Bishop Stanislaus were educated there, and the former was born and reared in Cracow as well. The two bishops and Alexius were all sons of the elder Johannes Thurzo (1437–1508), who owned the estate of Bethlensalva in the county of Szepes, in Northern Hungary, a title which Guglinger attributes to the recipient of the present dedication. The bishops and Alexius were noted patrons of Erasmus and other humanists. The verses by Anselmus Ephorinus Fridenburgensis on the title-page of the commentary confirm that Guglinger was a German. Ephorinus himself may have been a Pliny commentator: see below, "Doubtful and Spurious Commentaries."

*Bibl.*: *Matrikel der Universität Wien*, III (1971), 5. There is discussion of Pillhamer, but not of Guglinger himself, in Rudolf Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Wiener Universität* (3 vols. in 2; Vienna, 1854; reprint, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1969), I<sup>2</sup>, 140–143, and in Joseph Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* (3 vols.; Vienna, 1865–1888; reprint, Farnborough, Hants., England, 1967), II, 98, and III, 21, 24–26, 31–33, 73–75. For the Thurzo family, Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, III, 343; IV, 599; and VI, 70.

## 19. JOHANNES CLAIMONDUS

This extensive unpublished commentary, almost certainly composed at Oxford, where the author spent his career and where he used Pliny manuscripts at Balliol College and Magdalen College, covers Books II-III and VII-XXXVII of Pliny and probably at one time included an additional volume covering Books IV-VI. It is undated but must have been composed between 1526, date of the publication of the commentary by Beatus Rhenanus, to which it refers (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. K.I.4, vol. II, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>) and the death of the author in 1537. It is probably the longest Pliny commentary in existence: in its most nearly complete copy, it includes fifteen volumes of closely written folio text, plus a sixteenth volume which is an alphabetical index. The Oxford manuscript is surely the earlier of the two, for its text bears all the signs of being a draft subject to revision, and it is mostly autograph. The Basel manuscript, which is partly autograph, may have been produced as a result of the visit of Simon Grynaeus to Oxford in the summer of 1533, when Claimondus assisted him in his search for classical manuscripts suitable for publication at Basel (P.S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, III, 619).

*Joh[annis] Claimondi Commentarius in C. Plinii Secundi historiae naturalis libros.*

(MS. Basel K.I.4.) Plinii Secundi liber secundus. Caput primum. [*Inc.*]: An finitus sit mundus, et an unus (not a lemma, but a title regularly given to this chapter in early editions). Tractaturus Plinius de naturae universitate a coelo ipso [caelo et s. ipso *MS.*] et caelestibus cepit exordium, per media philosophorum certamina hinc inde iactatus.../...[*Expl.*]: (XXXVII, 203). *Ab ea post Italiam exceptis Indiae fabulosis. Quippe si esset ulla praecellerent et principatum obtineant[?] Hispaniam quacunque ambitur mari.* In quibus olim spurcius quacunque parte videlicet. Utpote inde ulterius ad coritiucti [?] sit sterilior.

τελος. Laus deo. Ioannes Claimondus.

*Manuscripts:*

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. K.I.4, 16 vols., paper, s. XVI. Covers Books II-III, VII-XXXVII, plus Index. (I wish to thank Dr. Max Burckhardt of Basel for bringing this manuscript to my attention).

Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS. CLXXVIII-CLXXXI, 4 vols., paper, s. XVI. Covers Books VII-XXVII. (Coxe, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* [Oxford, 1852], II, 72).

*Biography:*

Johannes Claimondus (John Claymond), appointed by Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, as first president of his new foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517, was a prominent English churchman and humanist of the early sixteenth century. He was born at Frampton, Lincolnshire, about 1457, and died in 1537. He spent most of his career in Oxford and was well known to humanists at home and abroad. Claimondus was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was made a perpetual fellow in 1488 and became president in 1508. In 1508 he received a B.D. degree and in 1510 a D.D. He moved to Corpus Christi in 1517 and remained there the rest of his life. Claimondus was a patron of both Johannes Ludovicus Vives and Erasmus (the latter dedicated an edition of St. John Chrysostom to him in 1526), and also befriended Simon Grynaeus during the latter's visit to Oxford in the summer of 1533. Earlier he had received ecclesiastical preferment from Cardinal Adriano Castellesi, Bishop of Bath and Wells, an important person in English humanistic circles. Erasmus regarded Claimondus as a friend of Cuthbert Tunstall, Thomas More, and Richard Pace; and he expected Claimondus' new college to become a humanistic trilingual college like the one he helped to set up at Louvain. Although Claimondus may not have had quite so exalted a goal, he did make Corpus Christi a center for humanistic studies and used his personal wealth to collect a rich library and to aid the Oxford colleges with which he had

been connected. He willed his books to Corpus Christi College.

*Works:* Despite a lifetime of humanistic study, Claimondus appears to have published nothing. He is supposed to have composed notes on Plautus and Aulus Gellius and to have written a "Treatise of Repentance" and a collection of letters; but his commentary on Pliny is the only work known to survive.

*Bibl.:* Ronald Bayne, in DNB IV, 467.

Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, III, 619-621, no. 990; V, 475, no. 1455; A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, I (1957), 428-430; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I (1891), 287; Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (new ed.; 4 vols.; London, 1813-1820), I, 104-106.

## 20. PHILIPPUS MELANCHTHON

The attempt to promote reform of the traditional arts curriculum at the University of Wittenberg led to efforts to use Pliny's *Naturalis historia* for classroom instruction in place of Aristotle. Melanchthon, as the university's leading humanist, lectured on Pliny and produced a brief *Pliniana praefationis παράφρασις*, "quae vice commentarii esse possit," no doubt as a study aid to students who were beginning to read the text of Pliny. This work, first published with his Latin translation of Demosthenes in 1527, pointed the way to continued use of Pliny as a textbook in the faculty of arts, and so to the production of more extensive but equally simple and elementary commentaries by Melanchthon's pupils and colleagues Jacobus Milichius and Paulus Eberus (see p. 384 and 400 below). Melanchthon's work covers only *Praefatio*. The prefatory materials of the original publication of 1527 refer only to Demosthenes and have no bearing on the appended work on Pliny.

*Commentary* (ed. of Hagenau, 1527). *Pliniana Praefationis ΠΑΡΑΦΡΑΣΙΣ*, dignissima lectu, et quae vice commentarii esse possit. [*Inc.*]: Cum me nuper familiarissime ut ad te aliquid scriberem hortatus sis et

meas esse aliquid nugas putes, non dubitavi ad te, Tite Imperator, hosce commentarios Naturalis Historiae mittere.../[*Expl.*]: sciant et alii qui certos tantum locos volent cognoscere. Nec tantum otii habent, ut vacet omnia perlegere.

*Bibl.:* Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Carolus Gottlieb Bretschneider (28 vols.; Halis Saxonum, 1834-1860; in *Corpus Reformatorum*, vols. 1-28), I, 888-890, and XVII, 639-642. Henceforth cited as CR.

### *Editions:*

(all with commentary only):

1527, Haganoae (Hagenau): Johannes Secerius. With Demosthenes, *Contra Aristogitonem*, trans. by Melanchthon. NUC; CR XVII, 639-642. BM; BN; (DNLM).

1541, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Crato Mylius. In Melanchthon, *Liber selectarum declamationum*. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. BM; (CtY; MH; DFo).

(\*)1544, Argentorati (Strasbourg). In Melanchthon, *Selectae declamationes*, vol. II. CR XVII, 641-642.

(\*)1546, Argentorati (Strasbourg). Reprint of ed. 1544. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. (PPLT: NjP).

(\*)1555, Argentorati (Strasbourg). Reprint of ed. 1544. CR XVII, 641-642.

(\*)1558, Argentorati (Strasbourg). Reprint of ed. 1544. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. (NNUT: CSt).

1559-1560, Argentorati (Strasbourg). Reprint of ed. 1544. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. BM; (DFo).

(\*) 1564, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Samuel Emmel. Reprint of ed. 1544. CR XVII, 641-642. BN.

(\*)1569, Argentorati (Strasbourg). Reprint of ed. 1544. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. BN; (CtY).

1570, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Thomas Rihelius. In Melanchthon, *Declamationum D. Philippi Melanthonis quae ab ipso et aliis in Academia Vuitebergensi recitatae ac editae sunt* (3 vols.), vol. II. NUC; CR XVII, 641-642. BM; (DFo; NjP; NIC).

(\*)1587, Servestae (Zerbst): Bonaventura

Faber. Probably a reprint of ed. 1544. CR XVII, 641-642.

1834-1860, Halis Saxonum (Halle): C. A. Schwetschke et Filius. Melanchthon's *Opera quae supersunt omnia*, in CR XVII, 643-650.

*Biography:*

See CTC II, 150.

Add to Bibliography: Peter Fraenkel and Martin Greschat, *Zwanzig Jahre Melanchthonstudium: 6. Literaturbericht* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 93; Geneva, 1967); Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 378-405 (Chapter XVII, "The Circle of Melanchthon").

## 21. FRANCISCUS MASSARIUS

This commentary, first printed at Basel in 1537, deals with Book IX of *Naturalis historia*, as the title makes clear: *Francisci Massarii Veneti in nonum Plinii de naturali historia librum castigationes et annotationes*. It can probably, however, be dated back to 1528, the year of a letter in which Celius Calcagninus mentioned to Jacobus Ziegler a work of Massarius on *Historia piscium* (in his *Opera aliquot* [Basel, 1544], p. 140). That the published commentary on Book IX is only a part of a longer work covering the whole text of Pliny is suggested by the author's *Praefatio*, which is really a dedication to King João III (1521-1567) of Portugal. There is, however, no other evidence that Massarius ever brought his work on the other books of Pliny to conclusion, and no trace that his notes on the other books have survived. The dedication which Beatus Rhenanus added when the commentary on Book IX was published in 1537 is of substantial intrinsic interest, partly because it emphasizes Massarius' extensive travels in the Near East and claims that his commentary is of particular value because it rests on personal observation and not just on book-learning, and partly because Beatus is critical of the attempt by Hermolaus Barbarus and Sigismundus Gelenius to correct Pliny's text on the basis of material drawn from other ancient authors. Beatus insists that

emendations must be based on manuscripts of Pliny himself, as Massarius has done.

*Dedication* (ed. of Basel, 1537). Clarissimo doctori Balthasari Entzespergerio civitatis Selatistadiensis medico publico, compatri suo, Beatus Rhenanus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Obscuritatis permultum esse in piscium aquatili-umque cognitione eruditissimis minime dubium est, ob maximam vocabulorum factam mutationem, non in Italia solum, quam olim variarum gentium coloniae Gothicis ac mox Langobardicis temporibus etiam maritimis locis occupaverunt, sed et in Graecia quae nunc Turcarum servitio premitur, ubi illustrium quoque oppidorum nomina una cum ipsis aedificiis interiere et celeberrimorum portuum mutatae sunt appellationes. Verum quid de urbibus aut portibus dico, quum ipsarum regionum vocabula sint novata? Nihil enim non mutat vetustas, praesertim novis cultoribus subingressis. Equidem hanc piscium cognitionem adjuvare enixe studuit Franciscus Massarius Venetus, qui etiam ipsa maria navigando sese perlustrasse testatur, ut non librorum modo praesidiis ista tradidisse Massarium scias, quae plerumque debilia sunt, verum ipsis oculis ac experimentis observasse. Legisti Paulum Iovium Novocomensem de piscibus Romanis. Lege et hunc et fateberis diligentiae Massarii multum debere studiosos. Utinam haberemus si quid in simplicium atque herbarum materia conscripsit... Placet porro mihi quod in castigando ad vetusta exemplaria confugit. Nam ille nunquam pro meritis satis laudatus Hermolaus Barbarus, ut in annotando omnes adhuc vicit qui Plinio manus sunt admoliti, ita in castigando, dimissis antiquis manu scriptis libris, ex auctoribus saepe lectionem corruptam restituere conatus, frustra laborat. Grammaticum illud esse fateor sed tamen nisi ipsa verba primum recte habeant, quem iuvabit auctores evolvere? Ingenue loquor. Edidit Sigismundus noster Gelenius castigationes in Plinii historiam naturalem, scriptum humile et contemptibile in speciem. Sed quantum lucis adferunt operi Pliniano? Annotare certe solum doctius potest cognitione linguarum atque lectione varia pectus instruc-

tum habens, et labor quidem est splendidissimus utilissimusque. At diligens exemplarium collatio longe magis necessaria. Siquidem germana verborum restitutio optima est auctoris expositio. Sed de hoc doctorum esto iudicium.../...[Expl.]: dum hunc commentarium legis, ex mediterraneo fias interdum maritimus vel etiam marinus. Selatistadii, sub calendas Februarias, Anno MD XXXVII.

Scriptorum elenchus quorum auctoritate Massarius suis Annotationibus fidem adstruit. [Inc.]: Aelianus, Agatharchides, Alexander Aetolus, Alexis.../...[Expl.]: Theognis, Theophrastus, Timachidas, Vergilius.

*Preface.* Francisci Massarii Veneti in annotationes suas praefatio. [Inc.]: Quum summus rerum omnium opifex ille, virtutes in hac terrena plaga, neque sedem suam ponere, neque consistere posse intueretur... Et si heros ullus unquam fuit, tu ille es, Ioannes rex invictissime, qui viros omni laude cumulos complexitur, fovet, ac magnis prosequitur honoribus, sub cuius praesidio homines aliquo ingenii cultu ornati conquiescunt, spe foveantur, beneficioque devincti vitam transigunt laetam ac tranquillam. Hac itaque spe freti lucubrationes has nostras quae Castigationes et Annotationes in Plinium de naturali historia inscribuntur tuo dedicandas numini constituimus, et primum quas in librum de Aquatiliu natura perscripsimus.../...[Expl.]: dignum munus fore censueris, tui obsequentissimi animum, non rem expendito. Vale, et inveteratam amicitiam nostram ad ultimum vitae calcem conservabis.

Francisci Massarii castigationes et annotationes in nonum Plinii librum. [Inc.]: Ex capite primo (IX, 1-2, beginning not with a lemma but with a descriptive caption which Massarius seems to regard as part of the original text): *Quae in mari maxima animalia*. Scribendum, *Quare in mari maxima animalia*, ex vetustis codicibus. Non enim capite hoc *Quae maxima in mari animalia*, sed causam assignat.../...[Expl.]: *Balenae musculus quandoque* [i.e., *balena et musculus, quando*]...oculorumque vice fungitur.

Idem tradit Oppianus Halieuticon libro quinto, qui parvum visu sed corpore longo tenuique cauda musculus describit, quem et iulum uti retulimus auctores alio nomine nuncuparunt. Finis.

*Publisher's introduction to index.* Nic[olaus]. Episcopus lectori S. [Inc.]: Dum in hasce Massarii in Plinium annotationes indicem colligeremus, singulaque assignaremus piscium propria de quibus inibi tractantur.../...[Expl.]: Quapropter uno aut altero verbo locos tantum indicavimus. Bene vale, et nos ama.

#### *Manuscript:*

(micro.) Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS. Regin. Lat. 1533. Commentary only; lacks all prefatory and appended materials of the printed versions; breaks off at IX, 40. Microfilm at Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, roll no. 8670. Kristeller, *Iter* II, 403.

#### *Editions:*

1537, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicolaus Episcopus. Comm. only. NUC; Adams M-861. BM; BN; (CU; KU; DfO).

1542, Parisiis (Paris): Michael Vascosanus. NUC; Adams M-862. BM; BN; (CSt; CtY).

1671, Helmestadii (Helmstedt): Henningus Muller. Commentary covers Book IX, chapters 54-56, only, with corresponding text of Pliny; appended to Janus Dubravius, *De piscinis libri V*, ed. Hermannus Conringius. NUC. BM; BN; (CU; MH; OkU).

#### *Biography:*

Franciscus Massarius (Francesco Massaria, or Massari), dates of birth and death unknown, was a Venetian naturalist active in the first half of the sixteenth century. He was known chiefly for this commentary on Book IX of Pliny, which deals with fish, though he also edited a translation of Aesop's Fables (1519); and Tiraboschi attributes to him a book *De simplicibus atque herbis* and records that he travelled to Constantinople in search of knowledge. The publication of his commentary by Froben and Episcopus and the presence of a dedicatory epistle by a major figure like Beatus Rhenanus confirms his good reputation as a scholar.



*Bibl.*: Cosenza II, 2230, and V, 1132; Jöcher III, 265; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, VI, 256, n. 12; Tiraboschi (ed. Milan, 1822-1826) VII (xi), 894-895.

## 22. JACOBUS ZIEGLERUS

This commentary on Book II of Pliny is almost certainly the one referred to in a letter from the author's Italian friend Caelius Calcagninus (Celio Calcagnini), dated 1 August 1529. It must have been completed during the later 1520's, when the author was spending most of his time with Calcagninus at Ferrara but also some time in Venice. The first printed version is dated 1531. There is evidence that Zieglerus had been concerned with Pliny much earlier, at least far back into the second decade of the sixteenth century, while he was in Hungary. As the title indicates (*In C. Plinii de naturali historia librum secundum commentarius, quo difficultates Plinianae, praesertim astronomicae, omnes tolluntur*), it is an outgrowth of the author's interest in astronomy. In fact, Ziegler's dedicatory epistle specifically contrasts his approach to the text, based on his interest in astronomy, with that of most other commentators, whose approach was dominated by their interest in humanistic subjects. Other related works by Zieglerus on astronomy accompany it in the first (and second) edition, and it also accompanies the notes of Collimitius (q.v., *infra*) on the same text. The commentary by Zieglerus on Book II is followed by additional notes on other scattered portions of *Naturalis historia*.

*Dedication* (ed. of Basel, 1531). In commentarios Plinianos Iacobi Ziegleri reverendo ac magnifico Alphonso Trotto dicatos Caelius Calcagninus. [*Inc.*]:

Quos tibi praescribat fines levis orbita  
solis  
Caeteraque ut certis cursibus astra regat  
.../...

[*Expl.*]: Et virtutis ope et fretus  
coelestibus alis

(26) Altius humanis gressibus audet iter.

*Author's dedication.* Iacobus Zieglerus, Landavus, Bavarus, magnifico domino Alfonso Sigismundi filio Atrotis, equiti Ierosolymitano, S.D. [*Inc.*]: Cui Plinii Secundi librum naturalis historiae quo catholicam siderum septem, aliaque astronomica et geographica toto sparsa opere tractavit, si quis vel aetate nostra vel superiori enarrarit ignoro, tamen animadvertere possum lucubrationem eam nostris etiam annis a studiosis Plinio desiderari... Est quidem Plinius antiquus, hoc est priscae cuiusdam Astronomiae, cuiusque vestigium, ubi hac historia conservatum non fuisset, perierat memoria nostra, leges perscripsit. Tamen remotus adeo non est vulgata postea disciplina, ut peti ab hac ratio non possit eius explicandae; obscuritatis etiam, qualem subesse negare nemo queat, causas ex tertia tantum parte imputari Plinio deberi, quoniam non nunc docet aut parat lectorem sibi, sed historica narratione complexus coelitus evenientes res, eum haec legere voluit qui aliunde institutus esset, qui ipse oculum coelo plurimum intulisset, qualem denique requirit minime etiam indoctis, sed in his qui agro exercendo tenerentur, quibusque diverso libro operas rusticas et earum stata tempora partitur ex siderum prospecta sibi observatione. Aliae causae aliunde Plinio illatae sunt, una a vitiatissimis exemplaribus. Quod enim nulli non sibi per partes facere libros ex Plinio voluerunt, non dico Isidoros sed hos quoque qui a plerisque in iustorum prope auctorum numerum reponuntur (Solinos, Macrobios, Martianos), non ut lectionem intelligerent sed transcriberent, facientes sibi quoque titulos in alieno labore. Talium quos paucorum nomine notavi, quisque lectionem tractavit quantum ingenio valebant, videlicet, fiducia quam modestia et eruditione maiore. ... Tales quod innovassent, manavit in sequentes magna securitate... Sed fuit postrema gravissima causa difficultatis ea quod quos illa cura tenuit Plinii intelligendi, iidem reliquo studiorum genere fuerunt humanioribus litteris, grammaticis, poetis, oratoribus, historicis, denique philosophis cognoscendis et interpretandis occupati. Astronomica autem attigerunt in transitu ex

vulgatis auctoribus, qui sphaeralem rationem exiliter, Catholica vero septem vagarum stellarum etiam impedit tractarunt. Sed opus sit mihi longo rerum argumento, neque hoc loco satis explicando, si iniero has etiam partes eius convincendi, summa autem capita attingam....Redeo ad partem quae fidem attinet lectionis Pliniana, unde ego alterum genus ducebam difficultatis tractandi auctoris. Quid hic etiam sequutus sim proferam, parum inspexi quid alius legeret, per nullum certe fastidium in alienam diligentiam, nam qui hoc affectu fuisset, neque in reliqua temperassem mihi, sed adduxissem in medium loca quibus vel minus praestiterunt, vel non constanter satis egerunt, vel securius alia transierunt, sed unius esse iudicavi utrunque cum deprehendere ubi lectio depravata sit, tum ubi diversa traduntur, non consentientia fidei rerum, qua parte illi: ubi lectio incolumis esset, nos parum adiuvissem, ubi hos etiam consuluissemus, ita necessitate quadam professionis quam suscepimus, utrunque genus erroris nostrae censurae permisimus....[Expl.]: tanto tu iisdem sanctis actionibus sublimior incedas, eodemque passu longe supra illos eminens praecurras cumulata gloria ad posteritatem.

(An index, astronomical materials derived from Ptolemy, and *Organi catholica siderum constructio* follow.)

*Commentary*, with text of *Naturalis historia*, Book II.

Annotationes. [Inc.]: *Mundum*. Tota haec periodus habet rationem definitionis eius quod mundum et caelum dixit. *Numen*. Sic et Virgilius ex sententia Platonis cecinit....[Expl.]: *Terramque nonagesimam sextam millesimam partem totius mundi facit* (II, 248). Ergo quanta est terra in ambitu, hoc assumatur ut pars una et multiplicetur in XCVI millia, summa quae provenit, prodit ambitum caeli. Hoc vero ut parcissime dicam est incompertum.

Scattered *Annotationes* on other passages of Pliny follow:

1. De mensura terrae collecta ex libro sexto. [Inc.]: *At abunde orbe terrarum... Quae computatio efficit XXIII. XXXIX M*

*passuum* etc. (VI, 206–207). Hoc caput in eundem usum nobis in quem et caput ultimum libri secundi paratum est, videlicet ad tabulam situs universalis....[Expl.]: Rationem gnomonum et umbrarum mutuam reieci nunc non semel ad commentarium in Proclum.

2. De emersu et occultatione siderum per singulos menses anni, ex libro XVIII. [Inc.]: *Primum omnium dierum... pridie Nonas Februarii fidicula vesperi* (XVIII, 207–235). Hoc est Plinio in argumento praedicere tempestates a coelitus evenientibus rebus, unde electio habeatur agri operandi....[Expl.]: ratione occasus commutata cum illa ortus ipsius. Atque et haec lector adducatur ad organi inspectionem.

3. De intervallis arborum in limite servandis, ex libro XVII. [Inc.]: *Huius loci pars... enormes cerasis laurum* (XVII, 88). Dicit in ponendis arboribus habenda est ratio ut mutuis invicem distent spaciis, sic ut altera alteram minimum opacet....[Expl.]: Estque FH umbra brevior pro ratione stipitis CD, suntque ad sententiam Plinii umbrae breves quamvis magnarum arborum.

4. Ex libro XXXVI, capite de obeliscis. [Inc.]: *Is vero qui est in Campo Martio... dicantur iacta fundamenta* (XXXVI, 71–73). *Obeliscus* is fuit CXVI pedum, hodieque est obrutus, et sunt tabernae opificum super instructae....[Expl.]: Et si lector his nostris cognoscendis eundem candorem servavit, in bona spe sum me diu fore securum a reprehensione.

(Several short astronomical treatises by Ziegler intervene.)

5. Ex Plinii libro XIII de papyro et charta locus tractatus. [Inc.]: *Prius tamen quam digrediamur ab Aegypto* (XIII, 68). Si per sectiones capitum distinguere utique oportebat Plinianam lectionem, hic initium faciendum erat. Rei memorabilis de papyro et charta....[Expl.]: *lapidem fuisse quadratum* (XIII, 86). quod candelae coirent ad continentem superficiem, ita demum putarim procuratos esse libros quo ad aeternitatem servarentur.

(Zieglerus' letter of 8 April 1529 to Georgius Collimitius follows, introducing the

commentary by Collimitius. See p. 378 below).

*Editions:*

1531. See above, Composite Editions.

1550. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Jacobus Zieglerus (Jakob Ziegler), German humanist, astronomer, and geographer, was born at Landau in Bavaria about 1470 and died at Passau in 1549. After early education at the Cistercian monastery of Aldersbach in Lower Bavaria, he matriculated at the University of Ingolstadt in 1491. There he was influenced by the humanists Conrad Celtis and Jakob Locher and also developed his lifelong interest in mathematics and astronomy. After his B.A. (1493) and M.A. degrees, he began the study of theology in 1499 but left the university the next year. Several obscure years, probably spent in travel, followed. In 1504 he was at Cologne, and from later that year until the death of Celtis in 1508, at Vienna. He then spent three years in Moravia as tutor to a wealthy Moravian cleric. This experience inspired his theological attack on the errors of the Bohemian Brethren. After a year (1511–1512) at Leipzig with his pupil, he returned to Vienna in 1514 and spent most of the rest of the decade at Buda in Hungary. He was already studying Pliny and Ptolemy at this period, and upon meeting the Italian humanist Caelius Calcagninus (Celio Calcagnini), he made such an impression that Calcagninus and his patron Cardinal Ippolito d'Este tried in vain to attract him to the chair of mathematics at the University of Ferrara. He did eventually go to Italy, probably in 1521, and certainly was there on 16 February 1522, when he wrote to Erasmus concerning his support of Erasmus against Jacobus Stunica (Allen V, 17–25, no. 1260). Although originally invited to Italy by Pope Leo X, Zieglerus turned bitterly against the papacy and not only wrote a hostile biography of Pope Clement VII but also attached himself to Georg von Frundsberg, commander of the imperial army, whom he accompanied on the famous siege and sack of Rome (1527). His years at Rome brought

him into contact with several high-ranking churchmen, who provided the information on which he based his later geographical work on Scandinavia. After Frundsberg's death in 1528, Zieglerus remained in Italy, mostly at Ferrara with Calcagninus, until 1531, when he moved to Strasbourg. There the town council gave him a pension to support his studies. Although in the 1520's his anticurialism had caused him to drift toward the Protestant camp, by 1533 he had become disillusioned with the Protestant movement and left Strasbourg. After several years (1534–1539) as tutor to the Margrave of Baden, in 1541 he seemed sufficiently Catholic to receive a chair of theology at Vienna. From 1543 until his death, he resided with the Bishop of Passau, Wolfgang von Salm.

*Works:* In natural history, Zieglerus published not only his work on Pliny but also a collection of geographical works on the Near East and Scandinavia, *Syria ad Ptolomaici operis rationem*, *Arabia Petraea sive itinera filiorum Israel per desertum*, and *Schandia (seu Scandinavia)* (1532). He also wrote *De solidae sphaerae constructione*, published with his notes on Proclus, *De sphaera* (1536), and edited a treatise on astronomy, *Libellus de cometa* (1548), which he incorrectly attributed to Regiomontanus. His interest in Scandinavia (which, however, he never visited) also produced a work against the tyranny of Christian II of Denmark (1536). In the field of religion, after his early work against the Bohemian heretics, *Contra haeresim Valdensem* (1512), he produced a defense of Erasmus against his Spanish adversary Stunica, *Libellus adversus Jacobi Stunicae maledicentiam* (1523) and a collection of his later commentaries on Scripture, *Conceptionum in Genesim et Exodum commentarii* (1548). His hostility to the papacy is reflected in his *Historia Clementis VII*, left in manuscript and published two centuries later by J. G. Schelhorn, *Amoenitates historiae ecclesiasticae et litterariae*, II, 287–380 (preceded by a biography of Zieglerus, pp. 210–286).

*Bibl.:* Bayle XV, 81–83; Siegmund Gün-

ther and [Friedrich] Lauchert, in ADB, XLV, 175-177; *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, XLVI, 991-992; Schottenloher, *Bibliographie*<sup>2</sup> II, 409; idem, in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup>, XXI, 673-675; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 370; Tiraboschi VII, 63-64.

P. S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Erasmi*, V, 17-25 (no. 1260); Siegmund Günther, "Jakob Ziegler, ein bayerischer Geograph und Mathematiker," *Forschungen zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Bayerns*, 4 (1896), 1-61, and "Studien zu Jakob Zieglers Biographie," *ibid.*, 5 (1897), 116-128; Theodor Kolde, "Zur kirchlichen Stellung des Geographen und Mathematikers Jakob Ziegler," *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, 3 (1897), 239-242; Richard Loewe, "Jakob Ziegler über die Krimgoten," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 26 (1901), 561-568; Karl Schottenloher, *Jakob Ziegler aus Landau an der Isar* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte, 8-10; Münster i.W., 1910).

### 23. GEORGIUS COLLIMITIUS

Although entitled *Scholia in secundum Plinii* in their first edition (1531), the notes on Pliny's *Naturalis historia* by the Viennese physician, humanist, and mathematician Georgius Collimitius (Georg Tannstetter von Thannau) also include material on Books XVIII and VII. The Swiss humanist Vadianus (Joachim von Watt) edited or collected these notes. Perhaps some of the materials represent his work, but any contribution by Vadianus beyond taking down (*excoepit*) the words of Collimitius remains uncertain. None of the materials in this commentary, nor in the commentary by Jacobus Zieglerus with which it was printed, corresponds to the two passages from Pliny briefly discussed by Vadianus in his letter of 1512 to Rudolphus Agricola Junior, which he printed (on fols. Ff2<sup>r</sup>-Gg5<sup>v</sup>) as an appendix to his commentary on Pomponius Mela, *De orbis situ* (Basileae: Andreas Cratander, 1522). Either

because of these two brief passages in his letter to Agricola or because of his indefinable contribution to the commentary by Collimitius, Vadianus is sometimes listed as a Pliny commentator. (See below, "Doubtful or Spurious Commentaries," p. 420.) The commentary, then, must be attributed solely to Collimitius unless new evidence of a direct contribution by Vadianus is discovered. It must be earlier than August, 1531, date of the first edition, and probably earlier than the prefixed letter (8 April 1529) to Collimitius from Zieglerus, with whose commentary on Pliny (*q.v.*, *supra*) it is printed. At least some of the work of Collimitius on Pliny may date back to 1519 or earlier. The Harvard University copy of the 1519 Vienna edition of Book VII of *Naturalis historia* has at the end ten leaves of manuscript which include one section of Collimitius' notes on Pliny (see below, Manuscript). Professor F. E. Cranz, who brought this source to my attention, informs me that the paper of the manuscript leaves appears to be identical to that which the printer (Johannes Singrenius) used for the printed book. Thus this short section of Collimitius' notes on Pliny would seem to have been copied contemporaneously with the 1519 edition of Book VII of Pliny, which was edited by Philippus Gundelius. There is no clue to the identity of the copyist of the manuscript appendix.

*Prefatory Letter.* Iacobus Zieglerus Landavus Georgio Collimitio medico S.D. [*Inc.*]: Nihil vero minus suspicari de te possum quam istud, quod quippiam eruditi laboris habeas quod mihi negare statueris.../...[*Expl.*]: qui postquam sollicitas partes Comitum a Trentinio sequutus fuit, nescio si eam absolvit. Vale Venetiis, VI. Idus Aprilis, Anno M.D.XXIX.

Georgii Collimitii scholia in secundum Plinii. [*Inc.*]: Ex capite sexto. *Omnia intuens* (II, 13). Haec Plinii verba quanquam aperta notaque esse videantur, tamen ne cui forte faciant fidem quod Sol uno quoque suo ambitu.../...[*Expl.*]: *celerrime feruntur in occasu vespertino* (II, 74)... constat aliunde hoc fieri quam ecentrici motu, et haec tamen vera planetarum superiorum velocitas est.

Annotationes Collimitii in decimum octavum librum C. Plinii Secundi, de tempestatibus utriusque temporis, et remediis sterilitatum, ex capite XXIX. [*Inc.*]: *Ipse circulus fertur per Sagittarium et Geminos, etc.* (XVIII, 281). *Solis circulum [sic] infra aequinoctialem secans, etc.* (XVIII, 281). Et paulo infra: *Qui [sic] in his tantum locis terrae, Solisque centra congruunt, etc.* (II, 282). Annotatio. Quae in hoc capite de lacteo circulo, quem Graeci γαλαξίαν vocant, scribuntur, vera quidem sunt.../... [*Expl.*]: Thericasque Peurbachii perlegat et intelliget nihil hic a nobis assertum, quae illi non doctissime demonstraverunt miraeque desinent.

(An additional note on Book II). [*Inc.*]: Locus est libri secundi Naturalis historiae capite decimonono, ubi de sole ait: *Et in centrum incidens terrae* (II, 81). Intelligit enim puncta aequinoctialia Arietis scilicet et Librae, principia prope quae ab utroque centro.../... [*Expl.*]: qui occultus ex centro terrae describitur. In his tamen locis sese atque coincidentes plane ostendunt.

De varietate nascendi, locus Plinii, ex capite quadragesimonono libri septimi naturalis historiae. [There is no lemma, but the section relates to VII, 160–165.] [*Inc.*]: Astrologi inquirentes naturalem nati periodum, in omni figura geniturae vitae datorem eligunt, quem Arabesve iustissimi Hilech nominarunt.../... [*Expl.*]: nam tunc simul cum Sole est in quarta, aut opposita figura coeli, comparatione ad locum coeli, quo coniungebantur ipsa luminaria.

De incerto Martis motu, ex capite decimoseptimo secundi libri. [*Inc.*]: *in Martis sidere* (II, 77). In bibliotheca fratrum praedicatorum Viennae de propria manu doctissimi astronomi Georgii Purbachii praeceptoris, quondam Ioannis de monte regio in gymnasio Viennensi.../... [*Expl.*]: *Retrogradum in Tauro et in Geminis non fieri* (II, 77). In Cancro vero, non citra, legendum. Falsum totum quoque deprehensum est.

Georgii Collimitii Viennensis gymnasii mathematici ordinarii in C. Plinium librum

secundum dictata, Ioachimus Vadianus excoepit.

[The concluding text in both editions, probably the work of Zieglerus rather than of Collimitius, is: *Brevis descriptio cursus septem planetarum, ex libro octavo Martiani Capellae.*]

*Manuscript:*

(xerox) Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard College Library. \*GC5. G9554.510 p. Ten manuscript leaves appended to C. Plinius Secundus, *C. Plinii Secundi Liber septimus Naturalis historiae*, [ed. by Philippus Gundelius]. (Viennae Pannoniae [Vienna]: Ioannes Singrenius, 1519). Contains only the added note on VII, 160–165. See NUC 461: 673 (NP 0424189). This note bears the heading “Pro Plinio li. 7, ca. xlix, a Georgio Tanstetter Collimitio, rogante Gundelio, explanationes.” It occupies three unnumbered pages and is followed by a sixteenth-century manuscript copy of Pliny’s *Praefatio* to *Naturalis historia*, with extensive marginal glosses in a hand which appears to be identical to that in which the excerpt from Collimitius’ commentary is written. The preceding printed text of Book VII also has extensive marginal glosses in the same hand. These glosses appear to represent notes on lectures given in the summer of 1519 by the Viennese humanist Gundelius, who prepared this edition for his students at Vienna (see his preface, “*Studiosae Iuventuti*,” on fol. a1<sup>v</sup>).

*Editions:*

1531. See above, Composite Editions.

1550. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Georgius Collimitius (Georg Tannstetter von Thannau), humanist, mathematician, and physician, was born at Rain am Lech in 1482 and died at Vienna on 26 March 1535. He studied from the winter of 1496–1497 at the University of Ingolstadt, where his masters were the mathematician Andreas Stiborius and the humanist Conradus Celtis. Shortly after receiving the degree of Master of Arts (1503), he began lecturing on mathematics at the University of Vienna, where he spent the rest of his career, serving as rector

and as dean of both the arts and the medical faculties. In his early years at Vienna, he was a member of Celtis' Sodalitas Danubiana and the College of Poets and Mathematicians. After Celtis' death (1508), he attempted for a time to maintain a Sodalitas Collimitiana of persons interested in mathematics and astronomy. In 1510, after completing a doctorate in medicine, he was named personal physician to the Emperor Maximilian I, a position which he also held under Archduke (later King) Ferdinand. This connection brought him close to the Habsburg court. In 1514, at the request of Maximilian, he and Stiborius submitted a treatise on calendar reform to Pope Leo X. He also undertook diplomatic missions and in 1531 was ennobled. Although Collimitius interests modern historians of science largely as a continuator of the Vienna school of mathematics (in 1514 he edited Georgius Peurbachius' *Tabulae eclipsium*, including tables by both Peurbachius and Regiomontanus and adding a list of the pupils trained in astronomy by those masters), in his own time he was famed outside academic circles for his astrological skill. Almost every year from 1515, he published popular calendars and almanacs, often in association with his pupil Andreas Perlach. Contemporaries believed that he had foretold the precise day of Maximilian I's death. He was sharply critical of the prognostications of Johannes Stöffler and others which had stirred up popular fears of a universal deluge in 1524; and his controversy with Stöffler also extended to other astronomical questions. He also was interested in geography, cartography, and medicine.

*Works:* In addition to his edition of the tables of Peurbachius and Regiomontanus and his work with Stiborius on calendar reform, Collimitius was active as an editor: Albertus Magnus, *De natura locorum* (1510); Proclus Diadochus (1511); Boethius (1511); Johannes de Gmunden, *De minuciis physicis* (1515); Johannes de Sacro Bosco, *De sphaera* (1518); and Witelo, Περὶ Ὀπτικῆς *id est de natura, ratione et proiectione radiorum visus* (1535, with Petrus

Apianus). His own works included *Appendicula de ortu et occasu siderum* (1511); *Usus Almanach seu ephemeridum* (1518, with Andreas Perlach); *Regiment für den Lauff der Pestilenz* (1521); *Artificium de applicatione astrologiae ad medicinam* (1531, edited by Otto Brunfels); and his controversial tract on the conjunction of 1524, *Libellus consolatorius* (1523).

*Bibl.:* Heinrich Grimm, in NDB III, 322–323; Karl Hartfelder, in ADB, XXXVII, 388–389; Jöcher I, 2016; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 221–226, 316–317, 332, 348–349.

Joseph von Aschbach, *Geschichte der Universität Wien* (Vienna, 1865–1898), II, 271–274; Gustav Bauch, *Die Rezeption des Humanismus in Wien* (Breslau, 1903).

#### 24. MARTINUS FIGUERETUS

This *Commentum super prologum naturalis historiae Plinii* can be dated from the date in the colophon of its only known edition, 13 June 1529. It covers only the *Praefatio* of Pliny's work.

*Dedicatory epistle* (ed. of Lisbon, 1529). Ioanni Serenissimo Lusitanorum Regi Martinus Figueretus S.D. [*Inc.*]: Credo equidem invictissime Rex, non defuturos esse, qui me carpere non ambigant de temeritate, scilicet arguentes me, quia tibi.../...[*Expl.*]: si laudes tuas omnes prosequi voluissem, quas exequi epistolaris brevis non patitur. Bene igitur ac semper feliciter valeat celsitudo tua.

[On fols. + 3<sup>r</sup>– + 4<sup>v</sup> of 1529 edition: Tabula nominum et verborum vocabulorumque omnium quae in his commentariis declarentur.]

*Commentum super prologum naturalis historiae Plinii. Compositum per Martinum Figueretum, Iuris Utriusque Doctorem, et serenissimi Regis Portugaliae senatorem.*

[*Inc.*]: Nonnulli decepti sunt, credentes Domitiano et non Tito Vespasiano Plinium hos naturalis historiae libros dedicavisse, quod certe falsum est. *Novitium*. Dicitur autem novitium, quasi dicat valde novum, ut aliqui voluerunt, quamvis sine aug-

mento.../[Expl.]: *Hoc ante me fecit in litteris nostris Valerius Soranus in libris quos epoptidion scripsit*. Dicit autem Plinius se fecisse hoc quod fecit auctoritate Valerii Sorani qui in litteris nostris, hoc est in latina lingua....quod verbum [a space is left, probably for the Greek letters] *apo thi epthia* deductum est, nam *otis* aspectus est, liber ergo *epoptidion* nihil aliud est quam liber spectaculorum.

*Author's postscript*: Martinus Figueretus humanissimis atque acutissimis lectoribus S.P.D. [Inc.]: Sapiientissimus ille philosophus qui ob divinam eloquentiam meruit ut ab Aristotele praeceptore Theophrastus appellaretur.../[Expl.]: id quod vis, id velis quod possis, non ergo ignorantiae vel negligentiae hoc mihi ascribendum esse velim. Bene valete.

*Edition*:

(micro.) 1529, Ulyxbonae (Lisbon): Germanus Galhard. Fabricius, BL I, 509. BM.

*Biography*:

Martinus Figueretus (Martinho de Figueredo) is known only from the biographical information contained in the edition of his commentary (1529), where he is identified as a doctor of civil and canon laws and as a councillor to João III, King of Portugal, and from a record of the University of Coimbra which shows that he held the chair of moral philosophy there in 1524. Antonius reports that he was a pupil of Angelus Politianus but gives no evidence. If true, that would mean that he studied in Italy. No works other than the commentary on Pliny are known.

*Bibl.*: Antonius, *Nova* II, 101 (cf. ed. Rome, 1672, II, 82); Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* III, 440; Fabricius, BL I, 509; *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, XI, 315.

Francisco Leitão Ferreiro, *Noticias chronologicas da Universidade de Coimbra*, ed. Joaquin de Carvalho (5 vols.; Coimbra, 1937-1956), I, 830-831.

## 25. STEPHANUS AQUAEUS

This commentary, covering Books II to

XXXVII of Pliny, appeared in an edition of June, 1530, *In omnes C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae argutissimi scriptoris libros, Stephani Aquaei Bituricensis, viri equestris, commentaria*, and can be dated only from this publication. It was criticized by another Pliny commentator, Beatus Rhenanus, in a short treatise, *Epistola ad D. Philippum Puchaimerum, de locis Plinii per St. Aquaeum attactis, ubi mendae quaedam eiusdem auctoris emaculantur, antehac non a quoquam animadversae*, which was published as an appendix to Beatus' *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* (Basel, 1531). Two chapters from Aquaeus' commentary were printed anonymously in contexts which have caused them to be incorrectly listed as commentaries by Gualtherus Hermenius Rivius and Johannes Trithemius (see below, under "Doubtful or Spurious Commentaries"). These printings are here listed as partial editions of Aquaeus' work.

*Privilegium* (ed. of Paris, 1530). [Inc.]: *Extraict des registres de Parlement. Sur la requeste baillee a la Court, par Poncet le Preux et Galliot Du pre, Libraires de L'universite de ceste ville:...*[Expl.]: *sur peine de confiscation desditz liures, & damende arbitraire. Faict en Parlement, Le xvij iour de Iuing. Mil cinq cens. xxx. Signe. Du tillet.* (Note: The author's name in this vernacular text is given as: "Estienne laigue Escuyer, seigneur de Beauuays en Berry.")

*Dedication*. Generosissimo ac illustrissimo domino, Domino Philippo Chaboto, Franciae Admiralo, sive thalassiarcho, ac spectatissimo Burgundiae moderatori, Stephanus Aquaeus S.P.D. [Inc.]: *Natura comparatum esse usuque venire conspicimus, ut homines ad agendum, negociandum, sciendumque nati sunt, eques generosissime...*[Expl.]: *Lycurgum Lacedaemoniis sacrificia tenuia instituisse, quo semper ex rebus quae adessent deos frugaliter ac facile colere possent.* Vale.

*Author's Preface*. Stephanus Aquaeus lectoribus ingenuis, S. [Inc.]: *Cum otii rationem reddendam esse censerem homini quidem aliqua facultate insignito, aut literatura aliqua inaugurato...*[Expl.]: *in ancipi-*



tibus boni consulere ac candide omnia interpretari dignemini. Haec enim sum commentatus, emendaturus si quid desideretur. Valete.

*In Commentaria a Stephano Aquaeo viro equestri aedita in Plinii Historiam, Iacobi Delestrei Ligonensis Carmen. [Inc.]:*

Pervia ni scopulos aequaverit unda  
frequentes

Fluctivagis nunquam navibus esse  
solet, . . . / . . .

(19) Exue degenerum rabiem tu Zoile,  
quando

His praestare modo non meliora potes.

*Eisudem distichon ad nomen Aquaei alludens:*

Mendosum nuper quae lavit Plinion, ista  
Purior haud Franca Pegasis extat aqua.

*Petri Vidouaei calcographi de commentariis in Plinium a Stephano Aquaeo aeditis epigramma. [Inc.]:*

Dum facere Hermoleos medicinam  
Barbarus optat

Non paucis lacero vulneribus Plinio:  
. . . / . . .

(11) Qua, inquis Lector, aqua? medica,  
planeque salubri,

Unde et cognomen fata dedere viro.

(The text of the commentary is also preceded by "Index in universum commentariorum C. Plinii Naturalis historiae opus.")

In secundum Plinii librum, Stephani Aquaei viri equestris commentaria. [Inc.]: *Mundum et hoc*. Esse in rerum natura praerique ita occlusa prorsum atque in eiusdem abdita maiestate, ut nulla ingeniorum solertia. . . / . . . [Expl.]: *Achates in magna fuit* (XXXVII, 139). . . . victoriam acquiri hoc tradunt, hoc Milonem fuisse usum tradunt, ut Solinus Plinio adstipulans ait.

*First Postscript.* Petrus Vidouaeus Verno-  
liensis Lectoribus S. [Inc.]: Oblatum mihi  
est exemplar manu exaratum viri cordatissimi,  
exemplar inquam praeclarae quidem lectionis,  
a Stephano Aquaeo equite. . . / . . . [Expl.]:  
quando multa sint opera pluries cusa, plena  
tamen errorum, quare boni exoro consula-  
tis.

Par sit fortuna labori.

*Second Postscript.* Ludovicus Faber Par-

rhisinus Cypriano de Relia doctissimo Sa-  
ludem. [Inc.]: Virtutis aestimatio, suavissimi  
mores, singularisque rerum naturalium  
cognitio, Cypriane, ad studiosorum utilitatem  
in posterum longe prospiciens. . . / . . .  
[Expl.]: bene cognitos habeo, ut certe habeo,  
si nostro emolumento et gloriosae tui nominis  
immortalitati praecipue consultum velis.  
Vale.

*Editions:*

(micro.) 1530, Parrisiis (Paris): Poncetus  
le Preux, Galiotus a Prato, and Petrus  
Vidouaeus. Commentary only. Panzer VIII,  
137, 1945; NUC; Adams A-1385; Cioranesco  
12322; Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, *Catá-  
logo*, I, 134; Evora, Biblioteca Pública,  
*Catálogo*, III, 131, no. 808. BM; BN; (CU;  
DNLM).

1548, Wirzburgi (Würzburg): Joannes  
Mylus. A selection only, the commentary on  
Book XXX, chapters I-II in the old numera-  
tion, or XXX, 1-14, in the modern numera-  
tion of Pliny's text, with text. This edition  
bears no name of author or editor except for  
the initials of the editor, "D.G.H.R.  
M. & M.," or Gualtherus Hermenius Rivius,  
who apparently intended to claim this selec-  
tion from Aquaeus as his own work. For de-  
tails, see below, "Doubtful or Spurious Com-  
mentaries," s.v. Rivius. Rivius has intro-  
duced a few minor textual changes into the  
passages from Aquaeus. Cioranesco 12327.  
BM; Vienna NB.

(\*)1567, Parisiis (Paris): Iacobus Dupuys.  
A partial edition, including the same ma-  
terials, and with the same textual variations,  
as in ed. 1548, above; with Agrippa von Net-  
tesheim, *De occulta philosophia*. The text is  
here anonymous but is often wrongly attri-  
buted to Johannes Trithemius von Spon-  
heim. See below, "Doubtful or Spurious  
Commentaries," s.v. Trithemius. NUC.  
BM; (CtY; ICN).

[n.d., 1600?], Lugduni (Lyons): Beringi  
Fratres. A partial edition, with the same  
materials as in eds. 1548 and 1567 above,  
and like the latter appended, without name  
of author, to an edition of Agrippa von Net-  
tesheim, *De occulta philosophia*. NUC. BM;  
(NcU).

[n.d.], Lugduni: Beringi Fratres. A partial edition, with the same materials as in eds. 1548, 1567, and n.d. [1600?] above, and with other texts by various authors, appended to vol. I of Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Opera* (2 vols.). BM, *Catalogue*, classes this as a fictitious imprint and conjectures: Strasbourg: E. Zetzner, ca. 1630. NUC. BM; BN; (MH; ICN; CU).

*Biography:*

Stephanus Aquaeus (Étienne L'Aigue, Laigue, de l'Aigue, or d'Aigue), born at Bourges at a date not known, died about 1537. Of noble descent and bearing the title seigneur de Beauvais en Berry, he won a reputation for his military exploits under King Francis I, to whom he was gentilhomme de la Chambre. He was also well known for his literary works. His commentary on Pliny, though of no great importance, and though sharply criticized by Beatus Rhenanus, has some importance in documenting the spread of interest in classical literature among the French nobility.

*Works:* At about the same time as he published his work on Pliny, and reflecting the same interest in zoology and horticulture, Aquaeus published two smaller works, *Singulier traicte, contenant la propriete des tortues, escargotz, grenoilles, artichaultz* (one undated edition, one of 1530, and one of 1542), and *Encomium brasicarum sive caulium* (1531). In 1530 he also published a French translation of Caesar's *Commentaries*.

*Bibl.:* Bayle II, 218–220; Anthony Bonnet, in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, I, 414; Brunet, *Manuel*, II<sup>1</sup>, 469, and Supp. (Deschamps-Brunet), I, 340–341; Cioranescu 12322–12327.

26. JOHANNES ANDREAS STRANEUS

This unpublished commentary by the Spanish humanist Johannes Andreas Straneus covers all of Pliny's text except the portion usually omitted, the *Elenchus librorum* in Book I. A copyist's note at the end of the one complete copy (fol. 332<sup>r</sup>) dates that copy 1531.

*Ioannis Andreae Stranei Valentini Hypo-*

*diaconi annotationes in C. Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae libros XXXVII.*

*At head of text:* C. Plinii Secundi in naturalis historiae libros XXXVII annotationes, Ioanne Andrea Straneo Valentino Hypodiacono autore.

In Praefationem. [*Inc.*]: C. Plinius Secundus Vespasiano. Scribendum arbitror T[ito] Vespasiano, ut enim in priscis aereis monumentis titulus qui Titi Caesaris effigiem tuetur.../...[*Expl.*]: in libellis his (Praef. 26). Volumine trigesimo quinto et trigesimo sexto tanquam novissima, velut morte intercepto artifice, absolvi non potuerint. Epicureos quoque (Praef. 28). additum quoque eius quadamtenus adsector et ipse fuerit. Ἐποπτιδων (Praef. 33). id est spectaculorum.

In Secundum Librum. [*Inc.*]: Mundum et hoc quodcunque (II, 1). Mundum et hoc quodcunque nomine alio appellari for[san] appellare libuit, ut mundum hunc elementorum intelligas. Hoc quod inq [inquit? or inquam?] quae enim caeli natura materiaque sit, nemo adhuc compertum mortalis habere potuit.../...[*Expl.*]: quamdiu libuit (XXXVII, 202). interdictum id enim postea vetere vetere [*sic*, word repeated] patrum consulto Italiae parci iubentium ut dictum est. quidem (equidem, XXXVII, 203). Lego equidem. Hispaniam quaecunque ambitur mari (XXXVII, 203). for[te] quacunque.

*Author's Colophon.* Dignum profecto Colophonem, meritamque coronidem divino operi gravissimus auctor Plinius imposuit, qñ [quando? or quum?] quibus ipsa natura finitur tribus rebus Naturalem Historiam inclusit velut ornatissimis umbilicis, rerum claritudine et omni genere dotis excellentia Italia, situ ac positu Hispania et mari. θεῶν χάριτας. Finis.

*Copyist's Colophon.* Annotationum et commentariorum in C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis Historiae libros XXXVII Ioannis Andreae Stranei Valentini hypodiaconi, theologi clarissimi, finis. Opus me Iesu tali viro dignum, omnibus utile et naturae gratum. Supremam vero manum transcribendi imposuit Michaelus Ioannis Ortinus, Gandiae, octavo Idus Iunias, anno M.D.XXXI,

ex quo verbum illud incarnatum ex Virgine Mater caro factum [h]abitabat in nobis.

*Manuscripts:*

(micro.) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 7818. Commentary only. Shelf-mark confirmed by letter from Sr. Manuel Sánchez Mariana of the Sección de Manuscritos.

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8481-8483. Commentary only; contains section on Book VII only. In a miscellany of commentaries and readers' notes on Pliny, s. XVI (ca. 1580), Spanish origin, paper, 179 leaves. Provenance: Antwerp, Jesuits. The Straneus commentary on Book VII is found on fols. 165<sup>r</sup>-179<sup>v</sup>. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne* (1842), I, 170; Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II (1971), 41 (item 219; MS. no. 8481-83), who, however, treats this miscellany of texts as if it were a single anonymous commentary.

*Biography:*

Johannes Andreas Straneus (Strany), archdeacon of Valencia and doctor of arts and theology, was a humanist, friend of Johannes Ludovicus Vives, and teacher of Cosmas Damianus Cavallus. He was famed in his own century for his collection of coins and medals, and was an eager student of classical literature, especially interested in purifying the text of ancient authors.

*Works:* Apparently none of his works was printed; but in addition to the present commentary, Antonius mentions (but does not claim to have seen) *In Senecam annotationes* and *In Valerium Maximum notae*.

*Bibl.:* Antonio, BHN I, 633. Frances Martínez y Martínez, *Una Leyenda más destruída: La colección de medallas del Doctor Strany* (Valencia, 1925).

## 27. JACOBUS MILICHIVS

This commentary on Book II, *Commentarii in librum secundum historiae mundi C. Plinii*, first published in 1535 and (according to the title-page) first delivered as a course at Wittenberg in 1534, lacks lemmata to particular sections of text and comes close

to being a paraphrase rather than a real commentary. Although the work is clearly attributed to Milichius in all editions, there were sixteenth-century reports that it was really the work of Philipp Melanchthon, or that at least he was its principal author. Whether this attribution rests on more than the fact that Melanchthon did deal with Pliny in his teaching of humanities at Wittenberg and did publish a paraphrase of the *Praefatio* of *Naturalis historia* remains uncertain. For the quotation from Martinus Mylius, *Chronologia scriptorum Philippi Melanchthonis* (1582), claiming authorship for Melanchthon, see the notes by Henricus Ernestus Bindseil, in *Corpus Reformatorum*, XVII, 649-650: "Mart[inus]. Mylius enim in Chronologia Scriptorum Phil. Melanchthonis (Gorlicii 1582. 8.) ad A. 1537. fol. D1. inquit: 'Editi commentarii Iacobi Milichii in secundum librum Plinii, cuius laboris maximam partem docti viri Philippo soliti sunt ascribere.' " The identity of the *docti viri* who regarded the work as Melanchthon's is not given. The dedicatory epistle by Milichius clearly reflects the educational origin and intention of his work, praising Pliny (rather than the traditional Aristotle, who is passed over in silence) as the best textbook for students beginning their study of natural philosophy. Milichius also acknowledges the commentary by Jacobus Zieglerus (see p. 375 above) as one of his principal sources. The text underwent some revision, apparently by Milichius himself, for the edition of 1538 (reprinted in 1543), and more substantial revision "by the author" for the version which is dated 1552 but was published in 1553. The differences among these versions do not appear in the dedicatory epistle nor in the *incipit* but are evident in the *explicit*. The variant *explicit*s are given below for each edition listed. The commentary by Milichius was also revised by Bartholomaeus Schonbornius in 1557. This work will be listed as a separate commentary by that author (see p. 402 below).

*Dedication* (ed. of Hagenau, 1535). Nobilissimo principi ac d[omino], d[omino] Georgio principi in Anhalt, comiti Ascaniae, etc.,

praeposito ecclesiae Magdeburgensis, Iacobus Milichius S.D. [*Inc.*]: Quod Plato inquit, philosophos iustos esse quia in inquirenda et patefacienda rerum natura studium ponant, omissis aliis vitae ac civitatum negotiis. . . . Utilis autem cum primis est adolescentiae Plinii secundus liber, quia elementa atque initia utriusque partis physices tradit. Nam et astronomica multa complectitur, et ea quae vocantur *μετέωρα* aptissime collegit, et in his hoc praestat caeteris auctoribus quod ex historiis multos recenset eventus, quod ipsum invitat adolescentes ad admirationem harum rerum atque artium. Quare cum studia physices commovere et pro virili iuvare cuperem, et adolescentiae opus sit initio quibusdam talibus compendiis, duxi hunc Plinii librum enarrandum esse ut in scholis et in manibus adolescentium frequentius versaretur, idque feci multis bonis viris hanc meam operam flagitantibus. Nihil autem opus est me de Plinii laudibus dicere, qui non tam librum quam bibliothecam nobis reliquit, complexus uno volumine fere totam rerum naturam, ut ne apud Graecos quidem extet unus aliquis locupletior auctor. Ad haec conservavit multis de rebus lectissimas doctorum sententias, item Latinas appellationes plantarum, quare semper et studium et consilium omnium valde probavi qui in Plinio ornando operam collocaverunt. Meum autem hoc consilium fuit, et ut Plinium facerem magis familiarem studiosis et ut haec initia physices invitarent eos qui perfectam doctrinam expetunt et ab his elementis ad alios auctores gradum facturi sunt. Itaque enarrationem meam ad communem scholarum consuetudinem accomodavi, quod in docendo mihi quidem videtur esse utilissimum. Extant in hunc librum Cigleri [Ziegleri], hominis docti, commentarii erudite et subtiliter scripti, sed neque integrum librum interpretantur et a scholarum consuetudine nonnihil recedunt. Quare spero eum boni consulturum esse, quod amicis morem gessi, qui mihi auctores fuerunt ut haec ad utilitatem iuventutis collecta ederem. Adeo enim nihil de ipsius existimatione detraho, ut libenter profitear me ab ipso saepe adiutum esse. . . . [*Expl.*]: quibus

hoc nomine vir sapientissimus Plato iustitiae laudem tribuit, quod artes vitae utiles conservare et propagare ad posteros student. Vale foeliciter.

*Argumentum.* [*Inc.*]: Longe plus conducit ad comparandam solidam eruditionem, ordine artes ipsas discere, quam temere per varios scriptores vagari. . . . [*Expl.*]: quod praeparet studiosos ad longiores et subtiliores disputationes quae iisdem de rebus extant apud physicos et astronomos.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: Primus locus huius capituli [primi] est definitio mundi, quam hic tantum nominis ponit non rei, cum inquit, *Mundus est cuius circumflexu teguntur cuncta*. . . . [*Expl.*]: ita 84,000 ad circumferentiam, et praecise provenient 252,000. Eadem ratione potest sciri diameter ex cognita circumferentia, quemadmodum est exemplum apud auctorem sphaerae in libro primo. Finis libri secundi Plinii.

(Note: Since the two subsequent revisions by Milichius are not evident in the Dedication, Argumentum, or *incipit* of the commentary itself, but only in the *explicit* of the commentary, the variant explicits will be given below in the enumeration of editions.)

*Editions:*

(all with the text of Book II)

1535, Haganoae (Hagenau): Petrus Brubachius. Panzer VII, 14, 383; NUC. BM; BN; Vienna NB and UB; (MH).

1538, Halae Suevorum (Schwäbisch Hall): Petrus Brubachius. Revised *explicit* of Commentary: ponatur ad regulam sicut 22. ad 7, ita 252,000 ad diametrum, et prodibunt 80181 18/22 integra diameter. Eadem ratio extat apud auctorem Sphaerae in fine primi libri. NUC. Vienna NB; (DLC; MoSB; OkU).

1543, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Petrus Brubachius. *Explicit* of Commentary is identical to ed. 1538, but adds at end: Finis libri II. Plinii. NUC. BM; BN; (IU; MH).

(micro.) 1553, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Petrus Brubachius. *Corpus Reformatum*, XVII, 649–650, dates this edition 1552. Revised *explicit* of Commentary: Ponatur ad regulam sicut 22 ad 7, ita 252,000 ad diametrum, et prodibunt 80,181 9/11

integra diameter. Eadem ratio est inquirendi diametrum in miliaribus. Nam sicut se habent 22 ad 7, ita se habet circumferentia in miliaribus inventa, videlicet 5400 ad diametrum, et iuxta regulam proportionum proveniunt 1718 7/11 cuius dimidium ostendit semidiametrum 859 1/11 miliarium. (In this edition, the commentary is followed by a treatise *De distantiiis locorum inveniendis*, and by a fold-out sheet labelled *Tabula de latitudinibus planetarum*.) NUC. Vienna NB; (CU; CtY; IU).

(\*)1563, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Petrus Brubachius. *Explicit* is probably identical to ed. 1553. NUC. BM; Vienna NB; (CSmH; IU).

1573, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Johannes Steinmann. This is a revision by Bartholomaeus Schonbornius and will be treated separately as his work (see p. 402 below).

*Doubtful Edition:*

1534, Vitembergae. Panzer IX, 96, 279.

*Biography:*

Jacobus Milichius (Jakob Milich), humanist and physician, was born at Freiburg-im-Breisgau on 24 January 1501 and died at Wittenberg in 1559. Educated at his native university (B.A. 1514, M.A. 1520), he was drawn toward humanism by the influence of Erasmus, Ulrich Zasius, Konrad Heresbach, Heinrich Glareanus, and Nicolaus Gerbelius. He studied medicine and mathematics at Vienna and in 1524 went to teach mathematics at Wittenberg, attracted by the fame of Philip Melanchthon. Apparently he took his medical doctorate there (1536) rather than at Vienna. Subsequently he taught medicine and also practiced with great success. He was a friend of the humanists Eobanus Hessus, Joachim Camerarius, and especially Melanchthon. The intimacy between these two men and the fact that Melanchthon also was involved in the study and teaching of Pliny may explain the later claim that Melanchthon rather than Milichius was the real author of the present commentary.

*Works:* As a student of natural science and medicine, Milichius published several works on scientific, astronomical, and medical topics. He edited Georgius Peurbachius'

*Theoricae novae* (1535; preface by Melanchthon). His many *Orationes* on medical and other topics such as the dignity of astrology (*Oratio de dignitate astrologiae*, 1533), the lives of Avicenna and Galen, the parts and movement of the heart, the art of medicine, and the study of anatomy, were printed in the numerous editions of Melanchthon's *Declamationes*. These works appear to have been produced in close collaboration with Melanchthon: hence scholars in the next generation often attributed the authorship to the more famous scholar, just as happened with the Pliny commentary. Milichius also published separately an *Oratio de consideranda sympathia et antipathia in rerum natura* (1550), and a separate edition of his *Oratio de dignitate astrologiae* (1538).

*Bibl.:* J. Franck, in ADB XXI, 745; Jöcher III, 532-533; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 359-360, 378-390.

Otto Clemen, "Ein Buch aus Jacob Milichs Bibliothek," in his *Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, 2 (1902), 146-147; Eusebius Menius, *Oratio de vita J. Milichii* (Wittenberg, 1562).

## 28. SIGISMUNDUS GELENIUS

This commentary covers the whole text of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*. Its dedication is dated 1 January 1535; hence the work was probably written during 1534 in preparation for the edition of Pliny by the Froben press published in 1535. Gelenius was employed for many years as proofreader and editor by that press and did most of his writing in connection with their editions of ancient texts. The dedicatory epistle reflects his rich experience as an editor of classical texts for Froben, and also his emphasis on the authority of manuscripts. This commentary was one of the most authoritative and most frequently reprinted works of its century on Pliny.

*Dedication* (ed. of Basel, 1535). Clarissimo viro Domino Damiano a Goes Sigismundus Gelenius S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Haud facile erat, Damiane optime, post Hermolaum super

historia Pliniana annotanti, impudentiae arrogantieve opinionem evadere, si primus tale aliquid attentassem. Nunc posteaquam eruditorum aliquot in hoc genere lucubrationes magno applausu exceptas video, non opinor ullis apologiis opus, quod quae pro parte virili animadverti ipse quoque studiosis communico. Et tamen etiamsi alius nemo post illum annotasset, dicere poteram, manere illi mansuramque suam gratiam, quod labore suo nos maxima parte laboris levarit, qui ut primus hanc viam ingredientibus munivit, ita neminem quo minus eiusdem industriae successionem capesseret vetuit, modo suis vestigiis insistere studeret. . . . Quin et gloria illi manet illibata per nos quotquot aliquid castigationibus Plinianis adiecimus: neque enim statim doctior est qui posterior aliquid deprehendit, sed saepenumero felicior. . . . Nos non nostra in medium proponimus, sed Pliniana ex vetustissimis archetypis revocata adferimus. Namque eam castigandi rationem secutus sum, quam omnium certissimam usu comperi. Quid enim certius, quam duo pervetusta exemplaria inter se consentientia sequi: alterum longe integerrimum, depravatius alterum, ita tamen ut sincerioris lectionis manifesta etiam nunc vestigia retineat, maxime si phrasin quoque Plinianam diligenter observes. Me certe hic oculatiorem fecit cum diuturna in caeteris Latinis scriptoribus exercitatio, dum eo attentius in his versor, quod non mihi solum caveo sed et his qui Frobenianos codices evolvunt prospectum cupio, tum hic ipse auctor plus minus decies non oscitanter perlustratus ac proinde iam familiarior. Et in prima quidem editione quaedam non exigui momenti restituimus, parcius tamen quia ultro et a nemine dum demandata ea provincia. At in secunda accuratius idem egimus, sed tum quoque ob angustiam temporis saltuatim duntaxat, prout ad singulos scrupulos res poscere videbatur, exemplaria consulendo. Nunc postremo nactus plusculum otii a capite usque ad calcem totum opus contuli, tantumque erratorum sublatum est quantum superesse non eram crediturus nisi ipse periculum fecissem, nec solum eius generis quae sensum vitiant sed etiam quae

orationis venustatem deformant, maiora pleraque quam pro literarum numero. Dicit aliquis: Tune igitur postulas ut quicquid quocunque mutasti pro sincera lectione recipiamus, quod nemo ante te postulavit, quantumvis doctior? Hic quisquis est, non aliud responsum feret, quam diversam esse meam atque illorum castigandi rationem. Illi homines ingeniosi, etiam sicunde se non satis explicabant, vel ex auctorum quos citat Plinius collatione vel alioqui coniecturis probabilibus, interdum variis, adiutare lectorem pro sua benignitate conati sunt. Ego secutus consensum probatae fidei codicum, quoties inveni manifesto veriore lectionem, eam in contextum reposui. Sicubi haesi quod sane praeterquam in nomenclatura herbarum, perraro incidit in tanto archetyporum praesidio, locum aliis disquirendum relinquere malui quam frustra vexare. Quoniam vero ingenue fatendum erat nonnulla hodieque depravata manere, si quis eis quoque restituendis operam impendere volet aut etiam a nobis attacta retractare, unum orabitur, a divinationibus non semper feliciter cadentibus abstineat, et ea demum adferat quae non solum speciem sinceritatis prae se ferant, verumetiam alicuius ex tam multis manu scriptis codicibus testimonio fulciri possint. . . . [Expl.]: simul ut per te hic meus conatus innotescat Italis quoque, apud quos nunc vivis, quorum et exacta iudicia demiror, et candorem exosculor. Vale. Basileae, calendis Ianuarii, Anno. M.D.XXXV.

*Sigismundi Gelenii Castigationes ex veterum archetyporum collatione, in aliquam multa Pliniani operis loca, ab aliis antea parum animadversa.*

[Inc.]: Ex Libro Secundo. Cap. VIII. *Circulorum quoque coeli ratio . . . inventionibus non dilatis* (II, 30). Si hoc modo legamus, quo referentur haec verba, *inventionibus non dilatis*? Non ad circulos, de quorum inventionem hic nihil. . .

The *explicit* of Gelenius' commentary shows three variant forms, appearing first in editions 1535, 1545, and 1553, and here designated respectively Form A, Form B, and Form C. Form B represents the inser-

tion of considerable new material not found in the previous editions; and since it was published in Basel during Gelenius' lifetime, it probably represents additions by him. Form C, which appeared later, contains some but not all of this added material. The text referred to in these variants falls between XXXVII, 186, and XXXVII, 200.

Form A: hunc Syri ob merita consecratum in coelitem numerum retulerunt, divinisque honoribus ceu peculiare suae gentis numen usque ad Plinii tempora colere perseveraverunt. *Cap. XIII. Gemmiferi amnes sunt, Oaxis, Mater, Ganges.* Malim veterem lectionem, *Gemmiferi amnes sunt Acesines et Ganges.*

Form B inserts between *colere perseveraverunt* and *Cap. XIII. Gemmiferi* the following: *Sed etiam in Samo, ut aliqui putant. In Samnio veteres codices habent, et sequenti versu Panchrus.* Sic enim apud Graecos quoque terminatur, ac paulo post *additam foecunditatem, non addictam.* Item pro *philoginos phloginos.* *Iuxta monumentum Tiresiae inveniunt, speciesque est eis aquae glaciatae.* Satis erat, *specie aquae glaciatae.* Plinius non solet huiusmodi hiatus reformidare. Sequenti versu legendum, *Sagdam Chaldaei adhaerescens navibus inveniunt, p.c. Triophthalmos Ionacae nascitur.* Scribo, *Cum onyche nascitur.* *Pyrene ab olivae nucleo.* Imo *Pyren*, ipsius nuclei vocabulo. *Cap. XII. Cochlites quoque nunc vulgatissimae.* Lego, *Cochlites*, alioqui *Cochlita*, dixisset.

Form C inserts only part of this material, beginning with *Triophthalmos Ionacae nascitur*, and continuing to the end of the insertion.

*Editions:*

(all except ed. 1536 annexed to editions of Pliny):

1535, apud inclytam Basileam (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius, Johannes Hervagius, and Nicolaus Episcopus. Form A. Panzer VI, 304, 998; NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 339. BN; Brussels BR; Vienna NB; (ICU; MH; NcD).

(\*)1536, Parisiis (Paris): J. L. Tiletanus, pro Joanne Parvo. Probably Form A. Panzer

VIII, 201, 2621; NUC (s.v. Gelenius). BN; (WU).

1539, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicolaus Episcopus. Form A. NUC. BM; BN; Vienna NB; (DNLM; IU; MH).

1543, Parisiis (Paris): Audoënus Parvus [in colophon: excudebat Michaël Fezandat]. Form A. Identical to the two following editions except for title-page. NUC. Vienna UB; (MnU; NNC).

1543, Parisiis (Paris): Petrus Regnault [in colophon: excudebat Michaël Fezandat]. Form A. Identical to the following and preceding editions except for title-page. BM.

1543, Parisiis (Paris): Andreas Berthelin [in colophon: excudebat Michaël Fezandat]. Form A. Identical to the two preceding editions except for title-page. NUC. BM; (CtY; IU; ICN).

1545, Basileae (Basel): in officina Frobeniana [Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicolaus Episcopus]. Form B. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 716. BM; BN; Vienna UB; (CU; DNLM; ICN).

1548, Lugduni (Lyons): Godefridus and Marcellus Beringus. Form B. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; BN; Vienna UB; (CU; IU; MH).

1549, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicolaus Episcopus. Form B. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; Edinburgh UL; (CU; NNC; IU).

1553, Lugduni (Lyons): Michael Sylvius, expensis Antonii Vincentii et Ioannis Frelonii. Form C. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; BN; (CU; IU; MH).

1554, Basileae (Basel): Hieronymus Frobenius and Nicolaus Episcopus. Form B. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; BN; Vienna UB; (CU; IU; NN).

1559, Venetiis (Venice): Paulus Manutius. Form B. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340; Brunet, *Manuel* IV<sup>1</sup>, 716. BM; BN; (CU; CtY; KU).

(\*)1561, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Vincentius. Probably Form C, judging by analogy from eds. 1553 and 1563 by same publisher. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922), 340. BN; (CU; WU).



1563, Lugduni (Lyons): Antonius Vincen-  
tius. Form C. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V  
(1922), 340. BM; BN; (CtY; IU; MH).

(\*)1571, Venetiis (Venice): Hieronymus  
Scotus. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V (1922),  
340. Form B, according to xerox of *explicit*  
provided by Mrs. Nati H. Krivatsky of the  
Folger Library, but omitting the phrase "*Sa-  
tis erat, specie aquae glaciatae.*" BN; (CU;  
DFo; NN).

1582, Francofurti ad Moenum (Frankfurt-  
am-Main): Martinus Lechler, impensis Sigis-  
mundi Feyerabendt. Form C. NUC; Graesse,  
*Trésor* V (1922), 340. BM; BN; Vienna UB;  
(CU; CtY; IU).

1582, Ludguni (Lyons): Petrus Santan-  
drianus. Form C. Cf. above, Composite  
Editions, 1593. NUC; Graesse, *Trésor* V  
(1922), 340. BM; BN; Vienna NB; (CtY).

1587. See above, Composite Editions.  
Form C.

1593. See above, Composite Editions.  
Form C.

1593,[Geneva]: Jacobus Stoer. Form C.  
(IU; MoSU).

1599. See above, Composite Editions.  
Form C.

(\*)1601, [Geneva]: Jacobus Stoer. Prob-  
ably Form C. BN.

1606. See above, Composite Editions.  
Form C.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva):  
Petrus and Jacobus Chouet. See above,  
Composite Editions. Form C, according to  
report from Professor Nathan Dane of Bow-  
doin College.

(\*)1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva):  
S. Crispinus. See above, Composite Edi-  
tions. Form C, according to information  
sent by Susan M. Scheafnocker of the Pelle-  
tier Library, Allegheny College.

1616, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva):  
Jacobus Stoer, 3 vols. Form C, according to  
information sent by Professor Nathan Dane  
of Bowdoin College. NUC. BM; (IU; MeB;  
NIC).

1631. [Geneva]: Iacobus Crispinus. Form  
C. BM.

1669. See above, Composite Editions. A  
variorum commentary, reproducing only

portions of Gelenius' work, together with  
selections from commentaries by other au-  
thors.

1778-1791. See above, Composite Edi-  
tions. A variorum commentary; see note on  
ed. 1669 above.

1827-1831. See above, Composite Edi-  
tions. A variorum commentary; see note on  
ed. 1669 above.

#### *Doubtful Edition:*

1524, Parisiis (Paris): Petrus Gaudoul.  
Schweiger II, 785: an edition of Pliny "*cum  
annotatis Gelenii (?)*," citing Maittaire II,  
649.

#### *Biography:*

Sigismundus Gelenius (Sigismund Gelen,  
Ghelen, or Gelensky) was born at Prague in  
1497 of a family of Bohemian nobility and  
died at Basel in 1554. Given a humanistic  
education from early youth, he went to Italy  
at age 13, studying at Pavia and Bologna  
and residing for a long time in Venice.  
There he perfected his Latin and acquired a  
thorough command of Greek, with Marcus  
Musurus his teacher in the latter subject. In  
his early years he also travelled in France,  
Germany, and the Greek islands. Sum-  
moned home after the death of his father,  
he gave private lessons in Greek at Prague,  
since his inheritance was insufficient to sup-  
port him. In 1524 he moved to Basel, where  
he met Erasmus and secured employment as  
proofreader and editor with the printer  
Johannes Froben. Gelenius kept this posi-  
tion for the rest of his life, devoting his time  
wholly to literary and linguistic studies. Al-  
though he matriculated at the University of  
Basel in 1533, he had little real connection  
with that institution. His intellectual ties  
were with the Froben publishing house and  
the many humanists associated with it. The  
high reputation of Gelenius' work as editor,  
translator, and commentator on classical  
texts was magnified by the fame of the Fro-  
ben press, while at the same time his own  
work for Froben became one of the founda-  
tions for the reputation of the firm. The  
lasting reputation of Gelenius is typified by  
the long life of his notes on Pliny, which be-  
came a standard appendix to editions of

*Historia naturalis* through the final two-thirds of the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth.

**Works:** Gelenius produced only one book wholly his own, a lexicon giving equivalent words in Greek, Latin, German, and Czech, the *Lexicum symphonum* (1537; expanded edition, 1544). Most of his writing was in the form of prefaces and notes to editions and translations published by Froben. He edited the first complete published text of the *Notitia dignitatum* (1552) and had a large share in the first edition of the Greek text of Flavius Josephus (1544). He also produced an important commentary on Livy (1535; often reprinted) and not only a Latin translation of Josephus but also translations or editions of many other Greek authors: Callimachus (1532), Arrian (1533), Origen (1536, completing the work of Beatus Rhenanus and Erasmus left incomplete at the latter's death), Aristophanes (1547), St. John Chrysostom (1547), the Greek Anthology (1547), Appianus of Alexandria (1554), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1555), and St. Justin Martyr (1555). He also edited many Latin authors, such as Landulphus Sagax (1532), Priscianus (1532), Ammianus Marcellinus (1533), Arnobius (1546), and Symmachus (1549), as well as at least one modern work, Gasparo Contarini, *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* (1544).

**Bibl.:** Bayle VII, 57-59; Halm, in ADB VIII, 537-538; Jöcher II, 910; *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, XX, 373-374; Schottenloher, *Bibliographie*, I, 285-286; Manfred E. Welti, in NDB VI, 173.

Edgar Bonjour, *Die Universität Basel von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Basel, 1960), p. 230; Otto Clemen, "Briefe aus Basel an Melanchthon," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 43 (1944), 17-33; August Luchs, *De Sigismundi Gelenii codice Liviano Spirensi commentatio* (Erlangae, 1910); A. Ryba, "S. Gelenius a jeho vydání Arnobia a Minucia," *Listy filologické*, 52 (1924), 91-108, 222-236, 337-341; Alois Schmaus, "Sigismundus Gelenius und sein Lexikon Symphonum, 1537," in *Festschrift für Max Vasmer* (Wies-

baden, 1956), pp. 434-443; Georg Veesenmeyer, "Vermuthung über den ungenannten Verbesserer des Velleius Paterculus in der Baseler Ausgabe von 1546," *Neuer literarischer Anzeiger*, 1 (1806), 7; Rudolf Wackernagel, *Geschichte der Stadt Basel*, III (Basel, 1924), 448-449; Wilhelm Weissenborn, "De ratione, qua Sigismundus Gelenius quartam T. Livii decadem emendaverit," in *Commentationes philologiae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 302-320.

## 29. PETRUS JOHANNES OLIVARIUS

This short commentary on the first twenty-two chapters (sections 1-84 in the modern numeration) of *Naturalis historia*, Book II, avowedly sets out only to supplement the work of other scholars, no doubt in particular that of Johannes Caesarius and Hermolaus Barbarus, whose notes on Book II are part of the same volume. The date of the work must be close to 1536, the year of publication.

**Preface** (ed. C. *Plinii Secundi historiae naturalis liber secundus*, Paris, 1536). Petri Ioannis Olivarii Valentini in secundum Plinii naturalis historiae annotationes. [*Inc.*]: De stilo Pliniano. Stilus huius auctoris floridus est, minime aridus et praetenuis, nunquam humi serpens sed perpetuo sublimis.../... [*Expl.*]: nonnunquam adducit ut sit undique perfectus stilus, et in quo nihil desiderare possis.

**Commentary.** In primum caput. [*Inc.*]: Mundum et hoc quod nomine alio coelum appellari libuit. locum istum contulimus cum variis aliorum capitum locis, nec aliud collegimus, quam nomine mundi coelum hic appellatum fuisse.../... [*Expl.*]: In caput vicesimum secundum (II, 84). Nihil est quod in hoc capite annotemus, tantum illud repetimus, quod in nostris scholiis in somnium Scipionis dixeramus...per duos tonos et semitonium, non quadrabit processus si Iupiter fuerit tonus, et tamen constat esse tonum si fiat Phrygius.

**Postscript.** Ad lectorem. [*Inc.*]: Libuit haec solum annotare quae ab aliis vel neglecta vel omisa fuere; reliqua lector ipse ex

variis Plinii.../[Expl.]: quanquam ea sunt dicta millies, dicemus alia cum hunc librum profitebimur, non ingrata auditoribus nostris. Vale.

*Edition:*

1536. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Petrus Johannes Olivarius (Oliver), Spanish humanist, was born at Valencia, but the years of his birth and death are not known. He seems to have flourished in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, when most of his books were published. He studied literature, especially Greek, at Alcalá under Dominicus Cretensis and then at Paris under Jacobus Rhodius, nephew of the famed Marcus Musurus. In France he also came under the influence of Jacobus Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples), and spent much of his life in that country. He lived for three years in the principality of Liège in the household of Bishop George of Austria, paternal uncle of the Emperor Charles V, and also travelled in England, Germany, Holland, and his native Spain.

*Works:* At least half of his works deal with classical subjects, including editorial notes on Cicero's *De finibus* (1537) and *Somnium Scipionis* (1535), on Pomponius Mela (1536), and on Solinus (1543). He also published a work on dialectic, *De inventione dialectica* (1540), and two religious works, *De prophetia et spiritu prophetico* (1543), and a defense of Catholic eucharistic doctrine, *Dilucida et clara confirmatio praesentiae Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in sacramento altaris* (1553).

*Bibl.:* Antonio, BHN II, 206; Fabricius, BL I, 409, and BLMA V, 162; Palau y Dulcet, *Manual*<sup>2</sup> XI, 336.

### 30. LEODEGARIUS A QUERCU

The little work by Leodegarius a Quercu (Leger Duchesne), with the title *Leodegarii a Quercu, Rothomagaei, in praefationem C. Plinii Secundi racematio*, covers only the *Praefatio* of Pliny. It can be dated only by the appearance of the first edition in 1543,

where it is prefixed to the text of the *Praefatio* itself.

*Dedication* (ed. of Paris, 1543). Sacratissimo abbati divi Pauli Vertodunensis Nicolao Psaulmaeo foelicitatem precatur Leodegarius a Quercu.

Vilia si divis sacrentur, tum sacra fiunt:  
Illa nec a quoquam laedier usque decet.  
Ergo tibi divo nos vilia scripta sacramus:  
Ut sacra dum fuerint, tuta mage esse queant.

*Leodegarii a Quercu, Rothomagaei, in praefationem C. Plinii Secundi racematio.* [Inc.]: *Libros*. Haec praefatio fungitur vice libri primi, atque continet elenchum operis totius, quod vovet Tito Vespasiano.../[Expl.]: *ante me*. Exemplo Sorani se tuetur. Hic autem libros epoptidon, id est spectaculorum, contexuit. [The text of *Praefatio* or *Prooemium* and of the younger Pliny's catalogue of his uncle's writings follows.]

*Editions:*

(micro.) 1543, Parisiis (Paris): Michael Vascosanus. BN.

(\*)1551, Parisiis (Paris): P. Attingens. BN. 1597. See above, Composite Editions.

1600. See above, Composite Editions.

*Biography:*

Leodegarius a Quercu (Leger Duchesne), philologist and humanist, was professor of Latin eloquence at the Collège Royal, 1561–1586, and died in 1588. In addition to being a noted classical scholar, he was deeply involved in the intellectual, religious, and political conflicts of his time, being an outspoken opponent of Ramist philosophy, of Protestantism, and of the moderate Catholics' policy of accommodation with the Huguenot faction.

*Works:* Duchesne was known for his lectures on classical authors on whom he gave courses at the Collège Royal and elsewhere: Cicero, 1557, 1568, 1571, and 1588; Martial, 1556; the *Institutes* of Justinian (1558); Horace (1563); and Statius (1560). He also produced commentaries on the *Oeconomica* of Aristotle and Xenophon (1558) and on several works of Cicero. His Latin poems appeared, together with the work of others, in several collections edited by him: *Flores*

*epigrammatum* (1551), *Farrago poematum* (1560), and *Praelectiones et poemata* (1559). An attack on Petrus Ramus, *Animadversiones in Rullianos Petri Rami commentarios* (1553), appeared under his name but is often attributed to his contemporary Adrianus Turnebus. His most frequently reprinted work was a work on zoological nomenclature, *Volatilium, gressibilium... apud Gallias nomina*, published in Johannes Ruellius, *De stirpibus epitome* (1539). He also wrote a vast number of occasional pieces, of which the best known is one upholding the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572).

*Bibl.*: Robert Barroux, in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, I, 261; Brunet, *Manuel* II<sup>1</sup>, 854, and Supp., I, 426-427; R. Limouzin-Lamothe, in *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, I, 426-427.

Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France* (Paris, 1893), pp. 141-142, 220, 232-233, 382. For a substantial list of his many occasional works, see BN, *Catalogue*. XLIII, 165-171; also Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du seizième siècle*, 8626-8662.

### 31. FERDINANDUS PINTIANUS

This extensive commentary on Books II-XXXVI of Pliny, *Observationes Fredenandi Pintiani, professoris utriusque linguae et humanorum studiorum in inclyta academia Salmanticensi, in loca obscura aut depravata historiae naturalis C. Plinii*, can be dated 1544-1545 from the first edition. The first two volumes, covering Books II to XXV, came out in 1544 and the third volume, covering Books XXVI to XXXVI, appeared the next year. This work grew out of the author's teaching at the University of Salamanca, where from 1527 he had added the subject of rhetoric to his original appointment as professor of Greek. Throughout the 1530's he had been at work on the texts of Seneca, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela, and produced an important set of notes on all three authors. Indeed, as early as 1529, in his notes for the edition of *Opera L. Annaei Senecae* by Erasmus and Matthaeus Fortu-

natus (Basel, 1529), he made reference to his notes on Pliny. His first dedicatory epistle explains that he excluded Book XXXVII from his commentary because his manuscript sources lacked the text of that book. The care of Pintianus to base his emendations on the best available manuscripts explains why his commentary had great authority during the following two centuries. Indeed, his two principal manuscript sources are still a part of the modern textual tradition: *codex Toletanus* and *codex Salmanticensis* (designated T and s by Alfred Ernout, "Introduction," in the new "Association Guillaume Budé" edition of Pliny, I [Paris, 1950], 31-32).

*Preface* (ed. of Antwerp, 1547, for the materials through Book XI; ed. of Heidelberg, 1593, for the rest). [*Inc.*]: Lectori. De quibus in ipsis statim initiis quae a me in Plinium scripta sunt lecturos, admonendos duxi.../...[*Expl.*]: nervos omnes doctrinae et ingenii sui intenderunt, mea etiam industria ad eximiam eorum omnique laude prosequendam voluntatem, aliquid cumuli accesserit.

(There are three dedicatory epistles, each with a reply, and each addressed to Francisco de Bobadilla, Bishop of Coria. The first dedication and response, both undated, appear at the beginning of the commentary; the second pair, also without date, precedes Book XII, the beginning of the second volume in the original edition; the third, in which Bishop Bobadilla's response is dated 9 February 1545, precedes Book XXVI, the beginning of the third volume of the original edition.)

*First Dedication*. Ad reverendissimum in Christo patrem et illustrissimum D. Dominum Franciscum Bobadilliam, Episcopum Cauriensem, Archidiaconum Toletanum, etc. Fredinandi Pintiani, rhetoricae et utriusque linguae professoris in Academia Salmanticensi, in Plinianas observationes praefatio. [*Inc.*]: Quum sint multa ac varia scribendi genera, Antistes clarissime, in quibus plerique nostrorum temporum insignes ingenio ac doctrina viri... De reliquo cupienti mihi et si maiore animo quam viribus in hac etiam studiorum parte

litteris iam pridem ruinam minantibus subvenire, tres mihi ex omni antiquorum albo auctores sorte obtigere, Seneca philosophus, Pomponius geographus, Plinius cunctarum naturae rerum scriptor, eminentissimi illi quidem in sua quisque facultate, sed dura quadam mea pariter et illorum conditione, longe omnium mendis inquinatissimi, ac fere animam agentes. Ad quam difficultatem accessit et altera, quod in priore repurgando elaboratum mihi est post Erasmum, in duobus posterioribus post Hermolaum [Barbarum], celeberrimos nostrae memoriae in litteris viros. Ad quorum scripta nihil addi potuit ita doctum, accuratum, excultum, quod non cum illis collatum sordesceret. Sed de Seneca et Pomponio dictum a nobis alias. De Plinio illud est apud omnes testatissimum, si qualiscunque extat ambustus, mutilus, truncus, et pluribus plagis a librariis indoctisque castigatoribus quam Orpheus ille a Thrassis mulieribus conceptus, ad posteros non pervenisset, bona Latinae linguae parte nobis carendum fuisse.... In tanto igitur auctore, si fieri posset, restituendo, quoscunque labores, curas, sollicitudines optime locatas existimantes, in omnia eius volumina praeter ultimum, quod penuria antiqui exemplaris attingere visum non est, observationes composuimus, collata vulgari lectione cum duobus archetypis: altero semivetere bibliothecae Salmanticensis Academiae, altero vetustissimo et multis in locis quam emendatissimo ex aede Divae Mariae Toletanae nuper ad nos allato. Evolutis insuper et quanta datum est diligentia excussis plurimis in omni genere disciplinarum Graecis Latinisque auctoribus (nec, quod plerique omnes ante me fecere, loca tantum selecta notavimus, cum hoc opus sit castigatoris si tamen ambitiosis utilia praefert, ut cum ex usu sit, ad minutissima quaeque interdum sese demittat) accessit etiam alia utilitas quod in transitu et aliud agentes, loca non pauca in aliis auctoribus vel correximus vel exposuimus, notatis item aliquot etiam clarorum virorum erroribus, adiectisque post geographiae libros retractationibus quorundam locorum quae nos subterfuge-

rant in Pomponio Mela. Prima enim operum editio, ut quorundam animalium foetus, imperfecta fere esse consuevit. Omnem denique lapidem movimus enixeque ad id operam dedimus, ne in hoc non omnino, ut speramus, poenitendo opere, operam luderemus.../[Expl.]: ut dixi, praecursores emissariosque suos, non multos post menses, citra fraudem et dolum malum subsecuturis.

*First Reply:* Franciscus Bobadilia Cauriensis Episcopus, Archidiaconus Toletanus, Ferdinando Pintiano rhetoricae ac Graecae linguae in Academia Salmanticensi professori eximio S.P. [Inc.]: Quantum Pintiane, Graecae ac Latinae linguae bonarumque omnium artium celeberrime professor, studiosi litterarum tibi debeant, de tuis in Senecam.../[Expl.]: quae tua intersint, iuvandis, amplificandis, tuendis, ullum a nobis paternae charitatis officium atque munus praetermittatur. Vale.

*Second Dedication.* Ad reverendissimum patrem, D. Franciscum Bovadillam, episcopum Cauriensem, Fredenandi Pintiani praefatio. [Inc.]: Non fuit mihi integrum, antistes clarissime, implere promissum cui me obstrinxi in calce mearum in Plinium observationum.../[Expl.]: ut dici solet, et impensas ad haec elucubrandam et in communem utilitatem invulganda suppeditas. Vale.

*Second Reply.* Franciscus Bovadilla Cauriensis episcopus Fredenando Pintiano S. [Inc.]: Quanquam non praeterit nos, Pintiane doctissime, quam sit dura haec provincia quam accepisti, expurgandi quantum vires tuae ferrent.../[Expl.]: indicto cunctis vitae lenociniis ac voluptatum illecebris inexplabili bello, sola contentus virtutum et litterarum conscientia. Vale.

*Third Dedication.* Ad Franciscum Bovadillam, Episcopum Cauriensem, Fredenandi Pintiani Praefatio. [Inc.]: Boni ne an mali plus attulerit litterarum studiis recens haec imprimendorum librorum ars avorum memoria excogitata.../[Expl.]: ea demum esset vera Christiani gregis instauratio, veraque illa toties iactata, nunquam in exitum perducta, oecumenica synodus.

*Third Reply.* Franciscus Bovadilla, Episcopus Cauriensis, Fredenando Pintiano S. [Inc.]: Quod eruditissimas tuas in Plinium annotationes ad umbilicum perduxeris, destinatumque stadium felici adeo cursu.../...[Expl.]: indigentes efficere valeas, cornicis annos Deus optimus maximus tibi donet, aeternam felicitatem deinceps donaturus. Vale. Ex castris Caesaris, quinto idus Februarii. M. d. xlv.

*Commentary.* Fredenandi Pintiani observationes in C. Plinii Historiae naturalis libros. [This title is in ed. 1593 but not in ed. 1547.] Ex libro II. Ex capite I. [Inc.]: *Mundum et hoc quod alio nomine coelum appellare libuit.* Duo scripta exemplaria, alterum semivetus bibliothecae Salmanticensis academiae, alterum antiquissimum nuper ad nos allatum e templo divae Mariae Toletanae, aliter hunc locum legunt. *Mundum et hoc quodcunque coelum appellare libuit.* Cui lectioni subscribit Mela in initio suae Geographiae.../...[Expl.]: *Caput arsisse visum* (XXXVI, 204). Novissimum verbum superfluit, ex eodem. *Ob id compitalia et ludos laribus. caet.* supervacanea est coniunctio *et*, ex eodem.

*Editions:*

(\*)1544, in urbe Salmantica (Salamanca): Joannes Giunta. Commentary on Books II–XI, without text. NUC (s.v. Nuñez de Guzmán, Fernando, apparently referring to this and the two following items). BN; (NNC; NNH).

(\*)1544, in urbe Salmantica (Salamanca): Joannes Giunta. Commentary on Books XII–XXV, without text. NUC. BN; (NNC; NNH).

(\*)1545, in urbe Salmantica (Salamanca): Joannes Giunta. Commentary on Books XXVI–XXXVI, without text. This and the two preceding volumes together constitute the first edition of the whole commentary. NUC. BN; (NNC; NNH).

1547, Antverpiae (Antwerp): Martinus Nutius. The British Museum has only vol. I, covering Books II–XI. Presumably Nutius completed the edition by issuing the second and third volumes, but I have not located copies of them. BM; BN.

1593. See above, Composite Editions.

(\*)1596, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Hieronymus Commelinus. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual*<sup>2</sup> XI, 269.

(\*)1603, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Claudius Marnius. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual*<sup>2</sup> XI, 269. Vienna NB.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): Petrus and Jacobus Chouet. See above, Composite Editions.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): S. Crispinus. See above, Composite Editions.

1631. See above, Composite Editions.

1669. See above, Composite Editions. Not a full publication of Pintianus' commentary, but a variorum commentary made up of selections from him and from other commentators.

1778–1791. See above, Composite Editions. Selections from Pintianus in a variorum commentary, as in ed. 1669, above.

1827–1831. See above, Composite Editions. Selections from Pintianus in a variorum commentary, as in ed. 1669, above.

*Doubtful Edition:*

1582, Lugduni (Lyons): Petrus Santandreas. Palau y Dulcet, *Manual*<sup>2</sup> XIII, 344. Palau bases his description on the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which I have not seen; but the British Museum copy (9005. i. 7.), which appears to be complete, lacks Pintianus' commentary, though it does have a marginal gloss drawn from a number of scholars, of whom Pintianus is the most frequently cited. This edition of Pliny also appears to have been reissued in 1593 with a new title page and an appendix that included the commentaries of Pintianus and Beatus Rhenanus. See above, Composite Editions, 1593. Perhaps some copies of the 1582 edition also contained the appendix. Palau does in fact list other editions (1601, 1616) which do not contain the commentary of Pintianus but only the marginal gloss drawn from Pintianus and other commentators.

*Biography:*

Ferdinandus Pintianus (also known as Fredinandus: the spelling of his first name varies; in the vernacular, Fernando Nuñez

de Guzmán, or Nuñez de Toledo) was born at Valladolid about 1475 and died at Salamanca in 1553. The name Pintianus refers to the Roman town of Pintia, with which the modern city of Valladolid was then commonly identified. The son of an official of the Castilian court under Henry IV and Isabella, he became a member of the military order of Santiago at an early age but devoted himself to the study of classical literature rather than to war. He was educated at Valladolid and (about 1490) attended the College of St. Clement in Bologna, where his teachers were Jovianus Peloponnensis and Philippus Beroaldus the Elder. After returning to Spain, he spent part of the years 1498-1510 as tutor to the family of Mendoza, living in Granada, where his patron was governor. Having attracted the attention of Spain's leading patron of learning, Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, he participated in work on the Complutensian Polyglot Bible which scholars at Alcalá were editing under the sponsorship of the Cardinal. He also taught rhetoric at Alcalá. Personal difficulties there, probably connected with his support for the Comunero uprising, caused him to move in 1523 to the University of Salamanca, where he became successor to Antonio de Nebrija as lecturer in Greek. In 1527 he also acquired the chair of rhetoric and spent the rest of his career at Salamanca. His lectures there on Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Pomponius Mela, and Pliny the Elder led directly to his three major publications in the field of classical studies. He also was interested in vernacular language and literature, but his publications in that field had no connection with his university career. His enthusiasm for Greek is reflected in the name by which he liked to call himself in his later years: "el comendador griego." Modern Hispanic scholars seem to have resolved doubts that this professor of Greek was identical to the Fernando Nuñez de Toledo who published vernacular works earlier in the century.

*Works:* His three principal scholarly works were his notes on Seneca, published at Basel in the edition of that author edited

by Erasmus and Matthaeus Fortunatus (1529); his *Castigationes in Pomponium Melam* (1543); and the work on Pliny (1544-1545). To the first volume of the latter work, he attached further notes on Mela. His other works as a scholar were a translation from St. Basil, *Oratio hortatoria ad pueros, quo pacto ex Graecis iuventur libris* (1519); editorial work on the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (1514-1517); and a Greek edition, with Latin translation, of Demetrius Moschus (1519). His vernacular works are also of great importance to Hispanic scholarship: a commentary on the *Laberinto* of the Castilian poet Juan de Mena (1499); a vernacular translation of the History of Bohemia by Pope Pius II (1509); and a highly important collection of popular sayings and proverbs, *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, published after his death by his pupil León de Castro (1555).

*Bibl.:* Antonio, BHN I, 382-384; Salvatore Battaglia, in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXV, 47; *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, XXXIX, 147-148.

R. Fouché-Delbosc, "Le 'Commandeur Grec' a-t-il commenté le Laberinto?" *Revue Hispanique*, 10 (1903), 105-116; Paul Groussac, "Le commentateur du Laberinto," *Revue Hispanique*, 11 (1904), 164-224; Juan Ortega Rubio, "Fernando Nuñez de Guzman (El Pinciano): Estudio bibliográfico," *Revista contemporánea*, 28 (1902), 513-525.

### 32. GULIELMUS PELLICERIUS

Although never published, the notes of Gulielmus Pellicerius, Bishop of Montpelier, on the *Praefatio* and Books II-X of Pliny had substantial influence in France. Pellicerius may also have exercised influence through other notes which are now lost (see the remarks, probably by Gabriel Brotier, in the edition of *Naturalis historia* by A. J. Valpy [London, 1826], XII, 5853, which refer to a copy of the 1498 Brescia edition of Pliny with manuscript notes on the first ten books in the hand of Pellicerius). The notes which do survive are known in only one



sixteenth-century manuscript, probably from the author's own library. Since this manuscript bears no trace of date or place, the only sure dates for the composition of the work are those of the author's life, *ca.* 1490–1568. The work, however, covers a substantial portion of Pliny's text and shows a level of erudition which suggests that it comes from his mature years. It may conjecturally be dated after 1547, when the death of King Francis I terminated the political career of Pellicerius and brought him back to his diocese of Montpellier and to its university. Although charges by later authors (Josephus Justus Scaliger and J. A. de Thou; see de Thou's *Historiarum sui temporis libri* [Geneva, 1620–1626], I, 405, effectively refuted by Robert Hamilton, *British Fishes* [Edinburgh, 1846], I, 17–44) that the botanist Gulielmus Rondeletius plagiarized his *De piscibus* from Pellicerius' commentary are almost certainly false, these charges do record contemporary opinion that the commentary antedated publication of the work of Rondeletius (in two volumes, 1554–1555). In any case, Rondeletius, though certainly not a plagiarist, himself acknowledges the friendship and assistance of Pellicerius (Haag, *La France Protestante*, VIII [1858], 521). A late date of composition for the Pliny commentary is also supported by a remark of Conradus Gesnerus (*Appendix Bibliothecae [Universalis]* [Tiguri, 1555], fol. 45<sup>v</sup>) that Pellicerius was then in the process of preparing an edition of Pliny. Thus the commentary may conjecturally be dated between 1547 and 1554 or 1555, though Pellicerius' preliminary studies of Pliny no doubt began much earlier. The authors who acknowledge the influence of Pellicerius, such as Rondeletius or Adrianus Turnebus (see Fabricius, BL I, 509, and also Turnebus' dedication of his own Pliny commentary to Pellicerius, p. 400 below), are compatible with a date in the middle of the sixteenth century. The probable place of composition was Montpellier, where the commentary was known and where Pellicerius habitually resided between his departure from government service in 1547 and

the outbreak of religious conflict which in the 1560's eventually drove him from his episcopal city. The commentary was known to Rondeletius, Turnebus, Gesnerus, and no doubt many others in Pellicerius' own lifetime. After his death, when most of his library was in the hands of his friend Claude Naulot, its whereabouts were unknown to J. J. Scaliger and J. A. de Thou. Later, however, when his books found their way into the library of the Jesuits' Collège de Clermont, the great seventeenth-century editor of Pliny, Johannes Harduinus, used the commentary and praised its merits. (For the fate of Pellicerius' books, see articles by Henri Omont and Richard Förster in *Bibliography*, below. For complaints by de Thou and J. J. Scaliger that they could not locate a copy of this commentary, see Scaliger, *Scaligerana [prima]*, in Pierre Desmaizeaux, ed., *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana, et Colomesiana* [2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1740], II, 138–139, and de Thou, *Éloges des hommes savans*, ed. by Antoine Teissier (4 vols.; Leiden, 1715), II, 272. Harduinus' comments on the value of Pellicerius' work are in the preface to his edition of *Naturalis historia*, reprinted in the edition of Pliny by A. J. Valpy [12 vols.; London, 1826], I, 17. Harduinus also attributes knowledge of Pellicerius' work to Nicolaus Rigaltius: *ibid.*, I, 17–18.)

*Commentary on Praefatio* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6808 [the upper right-hand portion of the early leaves of this volume is damaged, with considerable loss of text; where the incipits have thus been partly lost, I give a line-by-line transcription of what can be read in the opening section]). [*Inc.*]: rationis licet.../tiano opus hoc de .../cum mirari profitear, cum maxime o.../iam pridem rationibus, non in ceibus [incelebris?] eruditionis vir, huius epistolae.../tus tota (quod aiunt) via, illos aberrare docuerit, id [the preceding word seems to have been cancelled] inscri-/bendum censerent.../...[*Expl.*]: ut sit *nec Plancus inlepide* (Praef. 31). [the following words are in parentheses but have been cancelled: dixit inquitve perfacile subaudito siluit est]

*cum mortuis non nisi larvas luctari* (Praef. 31). et verbo dixit scilicet perfacile subau-dito.

*Commentary on Books II–X.* Ex secundo [libro], capitulo primo. [Inc.]: *et hoc quod nomine alio caelum appellari libuit* (II, 1). Scribimus cum Regio, *et hoc quodcunque nomine alio.* Adiuvat Mediceus, *quodcunque nomine* retinens. *Appellare* quoque, non *appellari*. Iidem codices, melioresque caeteri. [Expl.]: *Ruminant praeter iam dicta silvestrium cervi cum a nobis dicitur* (X, 200; the last word should be *aluntur*). . . / . . . Alioqui cur ruminet dum tantummodo dum a nobis alitur, in silvis vero minime ruminet cervus, quatenam nulla ratio reddi poterit.

*Manuscript:*

(micro.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 6808, paper, sixteenth century. Commentary only. (*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae regiae*, IV, 280).

*Biography:*

Gulielmus Pellicerius (Guillaume Pellier), Bishop of Montpellier, diplomat, and humanistic scholar, was born at Mauguio near Montpellier in Languedoc about 1490, and died at the Château de Montferrand in the same diocese in January of 1568. After successful study at the University of Montpellier, followed by travel and private study in other parts of France and in Italy, he received a benefice in the cathedral of Maguelone from his uncle of the same name, who was bishop of the diocese. In 1527 his uncle resigned the see in his favor, though he did not take possession until his uncle's death in 1529. His reputation for learning in classical studies, law, and theology brought him to the attention of King Francis I, who made him a member of the Conseil d'État and from about 1529 employed him on a number of diplomatic missions, and who also rewarded him for his services by naming him abbot of Lérins. His diplomatic contacts with the papal curia enabled him to seek and eventually to obtain (1536) the transfer of his see from the decayed city of Maguelone to the university

town of Montpellier. His principal diplomatic mission was his ambassadorship to Venice (1540–1542). After the death of his patron King Francis in 1547, he retired from public office and returned to his diocese, devoting himself to his episcopal duties and to the continuation of his studies in classical literature, biology, and medicine, and also taking a part in the reform of the medical curriculum at Montpellier, where his influence has been seen as important in reforming the statutes in order to replace the Arab authority Avicenna with the ancient Greek authors Galen and Dioscorides. Although he published nothing himself, Pellicerius was a major influence on the spread of ancient literary and scientific texts in France. During his ambassadorship in Venice, King Francis commissioned him to collect ancient books; and in one of his dispatches to his master, he claimed to have eight scribes at work copying texts in Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek. In addition to collecting books for the royal library, Pellicerius formed two collections of manuscripts and printed books for himself, one in Greek and one in Latin. The catalogues of these collections have survived and have been published. The Latin catalogue documents his intense interest in Pliny and other writers on medicine and natural history. His interest in medical subjects is also shown by his undertaking to secure the French copyright for Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica* (C. D. O'Malley, *Andreas Vesalius of Brussels, 1514–1564* [Berkeley, 1964], 325–326). His erudition also extended to other subjects: the great French legist Jacobus Cuiacius (Jacques Cujas) praised his skill at resolving difficult legal questions; and just as his unpublished commentary influenced his friends Adrianus Turnebus, Gulielmus Rondeletius, and Conradus Gesnerus and the later editor Johannes Harduinus, so his notes on the historian Tacitus contributed to the later edition of that author by Gabriel Brotier. Perhaps because of his friendships with Protestant sympathizers like Petrus Ramus and Rondeletius, he was charged with heresy and arrested in

1552 by order of the Parlement of Toulouse, though eventually he was released and his accuser tried and executed. In fact, despite his friendships with those who sympathized with religious reform, he opposed the efforts of the Calvinists to win control of his diocese, was active in restoring Catholic worship to captured churches after the pacification of 1563, and in 1567 vainly opposed the Huguenots' successful siege of his cathedral at Montpellier. After the loss of his episcopal city to the Calvinists, Pellicerius retired to his chateau at Montferrand, where he died early in 1568.

*Works:* In addition to his unpublished commentaries on Pliny and Tacitus and the Greek and Latin catalogues of his extensive library, mentioned above, Pellicerius made a French translation of the *Historia Albigen-sium* of Pierre de Vaux-Canay, and collected together into one volume his dispatches from his diplomatic mission in Venice. These dispatches have been edited: Alexandre Tausserat-Radel, ed., *Correspondance politique de Guillaume Pellicier, ambassadeur de France à Venise, 1540-1542* (Inventaire Analytique des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, VIII; Paris, 1899).

*Bibl.:* Fabricius, BL I, 509; Haag, *La France Protestante*, VIII (1858), 517-523 (an article on Rondelet); Jöcher III, 1361; A. G. Keller, art. "Rondelet, Guillaume," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, XI, 527-528; Michaud, *Biographie universelle*, nouv. ed., XXXII, 408-409; *Nouvelle biographie universelle*, XXXIX (1862), 507-509.

Pierre Desmaizeaux, ed., *Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana, et Colomesiana* (2 vols.; Amsterdam, 1740), for J. J. Scaliger II, 134-135, 138-139; Richard Förster, "Die griechischen Handschriften von Guillaume Pellicier," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F., 40 (1885), 453-461; A. Germain, "La Renaissance à Montpellier," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, 6 (1870-1876), 9-25; Louise Guiraud, *Le procès de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Maguelone-Mont-*

*pellier de 1527 à 1567: Étude historique* (Paris, 1907); Robert Hamilton, "Memoir of Rondelet," in his *British Fishes* (2 vols.; Edinburgh, [1846]), I, 17-44; Henri Auguste Omont, "Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pelicier," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 46 (1885), 45-83, 594-624; idem, "Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pélicier, ambassadeur de François I<sup>er</sup> à Venise (1539-1542)," in his *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I<sup>er</sup> et Henri II* (Paris, 1889), pp. 393-427; idem, "Inventaire de la bibliothèque de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier (1529-1568)," *Revue des bibliothèques*, 1 (1891), 161-172; Karen Meier Reeds, "Renaissance Humanism and Botany," *Annals of Science*, 33 (1976), 519-542, especially pp. 535-536; C. Revillout, "Les promoteurs de la Renaissance à Montpellier," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de Montpellier*, sér. 2, 2 (1902), 14-383, especially pp. 273-278; Jacques-Auguste de Thou, *Les Éloges des hommes savans*, ed. by Antoine Teissier (4th ed.; 4 vols.; Leyden, 1715), II, 272-275; idem, *Historiarum sui temporis... libri CXXXVIII* (5 vols. in 4; Geneva, 1620-1626), I, 405; idem, *Monumenta litteraria*, ed. by Clement Barksdale (London, 1640), p. 122; Jean Zeller, *La diplomatie française vers le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, d'après la correspondance de Guillaume Pellicier* (Paris, 1880).

### 33. BENEDICTUS AEGIUS

This rather extensive set of notes on the whole text of Pliny is attributed by P. O. Kristeller (*Iter* II, 423) to Benedictus Aegius and Fulvius Ursinus. The commentary is written into the margins of the printed edition of *Naturalis historia* edited by Erasmus (Basel: Froben, 1525). The book has the name "B. Aegii" written on the title-page; and since the handwriting of the notes appears to be the same, I attribute authorship to him, perhaps with assistance by the younger Ursinus, who was his friend and who later acquired many of his books. The publication date of the book, 1525, provides

the earliest possible date of composition. The only other helps in dating the commentary are the date of Aegius' death (1567) and, if Ursinus was a participant or even the author, the dates of his life (11 December 1529 to 18 May 1600). A date between 1550 (when Ursinus would have been old enough to participate) and 1567 seems probable.

Extraneous note at top of first page of commentary: Plinius [?] libro 30. Iamblichus [?] inquit non sane a Romanis celebratus est, ut proprium opus, a quibus interpositus, cuius acerbitas in Catullo, Bibaculo, Horatio.

*Commentary on Praefatio.* [Inc.]: *Vespasiano suo* [MS. inserts *Tito* after *Vespasiano*]. Quod hoc opus Tito, non Domitiano, sit dicatum, Tranquilli testimonio comprobatur, ubi sub Tito Vesuvium conflagrasse refert, quo incendio Plinius obiit.../...[Expl., with a series of purely textual glosses to Praef. 30–33]: *qui vitiligit. inviti legent v[eteres] c[odices]. Planci ederentur. prae[ter?] b[undecipherable]. cum mortuis inquit. et ligatoribus. vita ligatores, unde dicti. ἐποπρίδων, spectaculorum.*

(For Book I, Elenchus librorum, there is no commentary, but only a few glosses.)

*Commentary.* [Inc. (II, 1)]: *quod nomine alio. quodcunque caelum appellare sic vela. Omne hoc (quicquid id id [sic, word repeated] est) cui mundi caelique nomen indidimus, unum id esse.../...[Expl.]: Indiae fabulosis* (XXXVII, 203). Fabulosis Dionysius Halicarnassaeus in arenis inquit Indiae berillos, amethystos et iaspides legi canit, quod et Maro non tacuit in secundo Georgicum.

*Manuscript:*

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ottob. Lat. 3055, paper, s. XVI (written onto a printed book; see above). Kristeller, *Iter* II, 423.

*Biography:*

Benedictus Aegius (Benedetto Egio) of Spoleto, who died in 1567, was a noted humanist and antiquarian of the mid-sixteenth century. He taught classical subjects at Rome, where he was a friend of

Janus Metellius and Fulvius Ursinus (Fulvio Orsini, the other possible author of the commentary). After the death of Aegius, many of his books came into the hands of Ursinus; and from him they entered the Vatican Library at the end of the sixteenth century.

*Works:* Aegius published a translation and edition of Apollodorus, *Bibliothecae sive de deorum origine* (1555), and vernacular translations of Eusebius (*Historia ecclesiastica*), Procopius, Paul the Deacon, Quintilian, and Strabo.

*Bibl.:* Cosenza I, 62, and V, 6.

Luigi Jacobilli, *Bibliotheca Umbriae, sive de scriptoribus provinciae Umbriae* (Fulginae, 1658), p. 71; S. Prete, *Il codice di Columella di Stefano Guarnieri* (Fano, 1974), p. 155.

### 34. ANONYMUS VATICANUS

This short commentary on a portion of Book II (sections 31–58), found in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3436, appears to be only an excerpt from a longer work not identified, since its beginning implies that the preceding sections of Pliny have just been treated: *Nunc transit...* There is no evidence of authorship. The other contents of the manuscript are various, though the immediately preceding item is a life of Pliny, also without name of author. Datable elements in the rest of the manuscript seem to refer to the late 1520's (fol. 23<sup>r</sup>: Petri Alcyonii pro S.P.Q.R. oratio de liberando Clemente VII Pontifice Maximo et rep. [responsio?] reddenda ad Carolum Caesarem designatum) and the 1530's (letters exchanged between Jacopus Sadoletus and Johannes Sturm, July 1539: fols. 177<sup>r</sup>–189<sup>v</sup>). But the manuscript is not all in the same hand and may contain materials from various parts of the sixteenth century. The verso of the first preliminary leaf contains the name of the Roman humanist Fulvius Ursinus (Ful. Ors.) (1529–1600), perhaps as owner or even as commentator; but the manuscript clearly seems not to be all in one hand, so that his ownership would not necessarily imply authorship. Dating can

only be conjectural, but about 1550 would not be far wrong.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: *Nunc relicto mundi ipsius corp[ore] reliqua inter caelum terrasque tractentur* (II, 31). *Nunc* transit ad planetarum tractatum. *Caelum* ultimum *Saturnus*. Prior[?] alio nomine dicitur Saturnum supra[?] certum est. Saturnus 30 annorum spatio cursum finit. [*Expl.* (II, 58)]: Idque probatur in altissimis puteis quia radii non impediunt eos et in aqua apparent illae.

*Manuscript:*

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3436, miscellany, beginning with *Summa artis rithmicae composita ab Antonio de Tempo*; s. XVI. Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, roll no. 565. (Kristeller, *Iter* II, 319).

35. ADRIANUS TURNEBUS

This small commentary, covering only the *Praefatio* of *Naturalis historia*, is the work of one of the most famous French humanists of the mid-sixteenth century, Adrianus Turnebus. The only basis for dating it is the royal *privilegium* of 7 February 1553, printed in the first edition, which itself is dated 3 October 1556. A date of about 1553 would be compatible with its dedication to Guillaume Pellicier, Bishop of Montpellier, who was at work on his own Pliny commentary (see above, p. 395) just about that time or a little earlier. The commentary of Turnebus is probably related to his work as Royal Reader in what later came to be the Collège de France.

*Dedication.* (ed. of Paris, 1556) Amplis[simo] v[ir]o Gulielmo Pellicerio, Mons-pessuli episcopo, Adrianus Turnebus S.P.D. [*Inc.*]: Non committam ut in tuis erga me beneficiis alium quam te auctorem agnoscam aut me ostentem.../...[*Expl.*]: apud me non male collocaturum prospicis, atque in me demerendo gratiam a plurimis te initurum intelligis. Vale.

(The text of Pliny's *Praefatio* follows.)

Adriani Turnebi in Plinii Secundi Praefationem Annotationes. [*Inc.*]: *Natos*. Sic

legendum est ex veteribus libris, licentiore enim epistola narrare constituit *natos* apud se libros naturalis historiae.../...[*Expl.*]: *In literis nostris*... Valerius autem hic Soranus poenas, ut ait Plinius, luit, quod occultum urbis Romae nomen enuntiasset.

*Editions:*

1556, Lutetiae (Paris): Michael Vascosanus. With text of *Praefatio*. NUC. BM; BN; (KU).

1597, Heidelberg. See above, Composite Editions.

(\*)1600, Heidelberg. See above, Composite Editions.

1600, Argentorati (Strasbourg): Lazarus Zetzner. In vol. I of Turnebus, *Opera*; with text of *Praefatio*. NUC. BM; BN; (DLC).

*Biography:*

See CTC I, 150; II, 15.

Add to Bibliography: Abel Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France* (Paris, 1893); the reference to Nicéron in CTC I, 150, should be to vol. XXXIX, not XXXVIII.

36. PAULUS EBERUS

The unpublished commentary on Book II by Paulus Eberus is dated 1556 and is one of several works on Pliny to come out of the Lutheran University of Wittenberg, where *Naturalis historia* served as a textbook of natural science in rivalry to the traditional authority, Aristotle. Also in 1556 Eberus published an introductory treatise on Pliny, *De vita et scriptis C. Plinii quaedam praefationis loco recitata a Paulo Ebero, auspicante explicationem secundi libri naturalis historiae*. Both the biographical introduction, which was published (Wittenberg, 1556), and the commentary, which remained in manuscript, were directly related to the teaching of Pliny in the arts faculty. The commentary is in fact divided into dated portions to be used for Eberus' lectures. The first portion is a lecture dated 6 February 1556; the last dated portion was delivered on 30 April 1557. The commentary goes through the text of Pliny twice, probably reflecting the different materials pre-

sented in class during two consecutive academic years.

*Annotationes M. Pauli Eberi in secundum librum Plinii, Wittenbergae scriptae, anno salutis 1556.*

Preface. [Inc.]: Qui ventis secundis et sereno caelo foeliciter navigant, ubi remigandi et fallendi taedii causa.../...[Expl.]: in litterarum studio versati versati [sic, word repeated] esse videant, eis tandem vere occinantur illud Senecae: necessaria ignoramus, qui non necessaria didicimus. In die purificationis 1556. Paulus Eberus.

*Introductory Lecture.* [Inc.]: Lectio prima, 6 Februarii, anno 1556. ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν τῶν καὶ τέλος ποίει θεὸν (sic). In prima lectione haec potissime praefatus est, vetus versiculus est: *Sit actionum principium et finis Deus*. Cum itaque diu a scholasticis laboribus.../...[Expl.]: Vixit quum natus sunt [sic] quo temp[ore] et qua propter calamitatem sermonis excipi non potuerunt. Haec prima lectione fuerunt praecipua capita praefationis.

Secunda lectio, septimo Februarii, anno 1556. [Inc.]: In hac secunda lectione orditi [?] praetextum et summam quandam secundi libri indicavit, Plinius in toto opere suo voluit describere.../...[Expl.]: sed mox dissiliunt, stabiliuntur et mox dissolvuntur illa corpora s. [scilicet?] stetheora. (End of preliminary materials.)

*Commentary.* [Inc.]: Caput I (II, 1-4). Primum caput describit totum mundum, ubi addit suam quandam definitionem prolixam rem et minus arte factam.../... [Expl. (Caput 109 [II, 248], apparently dated 8 April 1557)]: propositum libro secundo propter ☉ [solis] magnitudinem [et] propter magnam distantiam ☉ [solis] a terra fit illa deceptio visus.

τέλος Annotationum in secundum librum Plinii.

*Second Series.* In secundam partem secundi libri Plinii, de meteoris. Dictata M. Pauli Eberi de cometis (II, 89). [in margin: 9 Iunii anno 1556]. [Inc.]: Hactenus dictum est de praecipua parte mundi, quae perpetuo sibi constans, nullas recipit mutationes, nihil intra se novum producit.../...[Expl.

(apparently dated 30 April 1557)]: denuo excitati per invidiam perfidia Ruffini, Italiam et multas alias quas varrones [?] pervastarunt, capta etiam Roma post bienii obsidionem.

*Manuscript:*

(micro.) Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Palat. Lat. 1560. Vatican Film Library, St. Louis University, roll no. 8630. Kristeller, *Iter* II, 394.

*Biography:*

Paulus Eberus (Paul Eber), the successor to Philip Melanchthon both as the leading classical scholar at Wittenberg and as the leader of orthodox but moderate Lutheranism, was born at Kitzingen in Franconia on 8 November 1511 and died at Wittenberg on 10 December 1569. For most of his life, he was almost exclusively a scholar and teacher; and his active career as a theologian and religious leader was concentrated in the last dozen years of his life. Educated in his native town and at Nürnberg, where he studied for seven years, first under Johann Ketzmann at St. Lorenz school and then under Joachim Camerarius at the new city school, he was so promising that his home town financed his studies at Wittenberg, which he entered in 1532, when its two leading figures, Luther and Melanchthon, were at the height of their powers. With Melanchthon as his tutor, Eberus excelled in classical studies and, being unable to secure an attractive position as a schoolmaster, stayed on at the university. In 1544 he received a professorship, and *Naturalis historia* was the subject of his first lectures. He returned to Pliny for other courses and also taught a number of other classical authors. His special interest in teaching, however, was the natural sciences, and he also pursued an interest in history. His slowly growing reputation as scholar and teacher drew him into ecclesiastical affairs from the mid-1550's; and in April of 1557 he became professor of theology and Hebrew. His theological work, duties as a church administrator, and role as a spokesman for the Lutheran moderates dominated his last years.

**Works:** His first publications were historical: *Historia populi Judaici* (1548), the fruit of his Old Testament studies; *Calendarium historicum* (1550), a highly popular calendar with historical records; and (with Caspar Peucer) *Vocabula rei nummariae, ponderum, et mensurarum Graeca, Latina, Ebraica* (1556), a work on ancient coinage, weights, and measures. In 1565 he and Georg Major published a bilingual (Latin-German) edition of the Bible at the request of the Elector of Saxony. He also wrote a work on the Psalms (1563), several tracts concerning the eucharistic and other controversies which were dividing Lutheranism, and many popular hymns.

**Bibl.:** Brecher, in ADB V, 529-531; Jöcher II, 260; Gustav Kawerau, in *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, V (1898), 118-121; NDB IV, 225.

Georg Buchwald, *D. Paul Eber* (Leipzig, 1897); Johann Kirchner, *Paul Eber, der Schüler Melanchthons* (Leipzig, 1907); Theodor Pressel, *Paul Eber* (Elberfeld, 1862); Christian Heinrich Sixt, *Dr. Paul Eber* (Heidelberg, 1843); idem, *Paul Eber: Ein Stück Wittenberger Lebens aus den Jahren 1532 bis 1569* (Ansbach, 1857); Schottenloher I, 5126-5141, 5476, and VII, 54177-54179.

### 37. BARTHOLOMAEUS SCHONBORNII

This commentary is little more than a partial reworking of the earlier commentary by Jacobus Milichius (see p. 384, above) and is presented as such in the only printed edition: *C. Plinii liber secundus de mundi historia, cum erudito commentario v. cl. Iacobi Milichii diligenter conscripto, et nunc denuo ex praelectionibus publicis in Academia Vitebergensi recognito, pluribusque in locis aucto et a mendis repurgato, opera et studio Bartholomaei Schonbornii*. The title appears to claim that the revisions grew out of Schonbornius' own lectures on Pliny at Wittenberg, where he continued the tradition of lecturing on Pliny begun by Philipp Melanchthon. Although the present publication was derived

from the work of Milichius, sufficient textual changes were introduced so that it is here treated as a separate work. It was not printed until 1573, but Schonborn's revision was done in 1557, according to a note at the end. Like the work of Milichius on which it is based, this commentary is virtually a paraphrase and covers only Book II.

(Dedication and *Argumentum* are unchanged from the commentary of Milichius, p. 384-85, above.)

**Commentary.** [*Inc.*]: Primus locus huius capitis est definitio mundi, quam hic tantum nominis ponit, non rei, cum inquit, *Mundus est cuius circumflexu teguntur cuncta...* [*Expl.*]: ita ut diameter terreni globi sit nonagesima sexta millesima pars diametri octavae sphaerae seu, ut ipse vocat, mundi. Finis libri secundi Plinii, cum commentariis Iacobi Milichii, recognitis anno 1557.

#### **Edition:**

1573, Lipsiae (Leipzig): Iohannes Steinman (typis Voegelianis). With text of Book II. BN; Vienna UB.

#### **Biography:**

Bartholomaeus Schonbornius (Schoenborn or Schonborn), physician and professor of medicine at Wittenberg in the second half of the sixteenth century, is known only from his several publications and from records of him in the matriculation rolls of the University of Wittenberg, where he matriculated on 30 April 1543 as doctor of medicine and professor in that faculty, and where he is found as acting rector in 1572. He was still alive in 1582, and the date of his death is uncertain.

**Works:** *Oratio de studiis astronomicis* (1563); *Computus vel calendarium astronomicum* (1567), both dealing with astronomical subjects; a collection of poems, *Versus sententiosi* (1565); and a posthumous *Dialogus de peste*, written during an outbreak of the plague in 1582 and published (probably posthumously) by Balthasar Kiszewetterus in 1613.

**Bibl.:** Jöcher IV, 320.

*Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, 1502-1560, I, 203; II, 219.



## 38. LAEVIUS TORRENTIUS

This rather lengthy unprinted commentary on *Praefatio* and Books II-XXXVII of Pliny must be of the later sixteenth century, since it draws heavily on the *Adversaria* of Turnebus (first published in 1564-1565) and on the commentary of Pintianus (first edition, 1544-1545), and uses as its basic text the Basel edition of 1554. The opening of the manuscript contains no name of author, but the commentary on Book VII, which is written in a different hand but seems fully homogeneous with the rest, is attributed to Laevinus Torrentius, a distinguished Belgian humanist and churchman who spent most of his mature years as an administrative official of the diocese of Liège and eventually became the second bishop of the new diocese of Antwerp. Since Torrentius was active as a scholar throughout his adult life, the precise date of his work on Pliny is unknown; but it is less likely to have been done during the last period of his life (1587-1595), when the heavy duties of rebuilding the shattered ecclesiastical structure of his diocese would have left him little leisure for writing. Thus the most likely range of dates is 1565-1587, during the author's residence at Liège.

*In C. Plinii libros naturalis historiae ad editionem Frobenii, Anno M.D.LIIII, Basileae.*

*Commentary on Praefatio.* [Inc.]: [Ex] Praefatione. *Natum apud me* (Praef. 1). *Natos*, vet. cod. *Dum maximi consenescit* (Praef. 1). Lib[ri] vet[eres] *maxime et maximo*, ut et v[etus] c[odex] meus; quod posterius Turnebo placet, nam et pater Vespasianus a iucunditate laudatur.../... [Expl.]: *Catoni de militari disciplina commentanti* (Praef. 30). Turnebus *Comminanti*, id est, *scribere paranti*. Sic enim Horatius *multa et praeclara minantis*. *Sino praeterfluere* (Praef. 30). *Sibi praetereo*, Turnebus.

Book I: Ad Librum XXXII in Auctoribus. *Maecenate*. Maecenatis Carminum libros et dialogos citat Canisius. Prometheum quoque Seneca, ep. xix. Vide eundem, ep. xciii. (Entire text of materials on Book I.)

Books II-XXXVII: [Inc.]: Liber II, Cap. I. *Hoc quod nomine alio caelum appellare libuit*. Venustior Pintiani lectio ex vetustis codicibus, *Mundum et hoc quodcunque coelum appellare libuit*. Sic enim Pomponius Mela incipit: *Omne hoc, quicquid id est, cui mundi caelique nomen indidimus*. *Finitus et infinito similis* (II, 2). *Infinitus et finito similis*. Turnebus, 22, c. 4. [Expl.]: *Anancitide* (XXXVII, 192). *Gamite* aut *Gamitide* a nuptiis legit Adrianus Turnebus, *Adversariorum libro 1*, c. 21. Nuptiarum enim argumentum erant manus candidae inter se complexae. *Anancitis* quoque a necessitate et *Synochitis* a continendo. Cap. XII. *Clypeidos*. *Epipedos* (XXXVII, 196) putat legendum Adrianus Turnebus, *Adversariorum libro 1*, c. 21.

*Manuscript:*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8516-8517, paper, s. XVI, fols. 1-154<sup>v</sup>. In a miscellany of notes and commentaries on Pliny, *Naturalis historia*. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne* (1842), I, 171; Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II(1971), 43 (item 222, no. 1; MS. no. 8516-17), dates the manuscript seventeenth century and does not identify Torrentius as the author of the principal text.

*Biography:*

Laevinus Torrentius (Livinius or Lieven van der Beke), humanist and second bishop of Antwerp, was born at Ghent, 8 March 1525, into a distinguished family, and died at Brussels, 26 April 1595. At age 15 he entered the University of Louvain, where he studied letters and law with great success. In 1545 he went to study abroad, at Paris, Padua, and Bologna, staying more than four years in the latter city and receiving his doctorate in laws in 1552. After further travel in Italy, he settled in Rome later in 1552 and was probably ordained there. He was deeply involved in the revival and reform of Catholic spirituality at Rome, and also in classical scholarship, forming friendships with leading Roman humanists, such as Basilio Zanchi, Lorenzo Gambara, Lelio Capilupi, Gabrielle

Faërno, Ottavio Bagatto, Paolo Manuzio, and Fulvio Orsini. Although he could have had a brilliant career at Rome, instead he accepted a position as councillor to Robert de Berghes, prince-bishop of Liège. Arriving in 1557, he spent thirty highly active years there, both as vicar-general of the diocese and as a scholar. He encouraged humanistic studies at Liège and was a great patron of the Jesuits, giving them his house as a place for their first college. He had begun a collection of ancient coins in Italy, and he systematically expanded it. In 1587, after Antwerp had submitted to Philip II, Torrentius took up the vacant see of that city and did much to re-establish Catholicism there. Shortly before his death in 1595, he was designated archbishop of Malines, but he died before his consecration.

*Works:* Laevinius Torrentius concentrated his classical scholarship on Suetonius, on whom he published a commentary (1591); Horace, on whom he left an uncompleted commentary which his Jesuit friends published in 1608, after his death; and Pliny, though the latter commentary is in very rough condition and was never published. He was also a Latin poet of great reputation in his own time; and his *Poemata Sacra* (1572), despite their title, dealt with historical, literary, and personal themes as well as with religion. He also edited the *Opera* of his friend Johannes Goropius Becanus (1580).

*Bibl.:* *Biographie Universelle*, XLI, 701–702; Jöcher IV, 1261–1262; Alphonse Roersch, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XXXV, 462–475.

V. Brants, “Un évêque lettré, L. Torrentius,” *Mélanges Camille de Borman* (1919), pp. 209–220; Alphonse Roersch, “Un grand humaniste belge, L. Torrentius,” *Miscelânea de Estudos em honra de D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos* (*Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 11; Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1933), pp. 423–442, reprinted in Roersch, *L’Humanisme belge à l’époque de la Renaissance: Études et portraits, deuxième série* (Humanistica Lovaniensia, 3; Louvain, 1933), pp. 117–

139; idem, in Ferdinand van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* (rev. ed., by Marie-Thérèse Lenger; Brussels, 1964), V, 372–381.

### 39. GEORGIUS PICTORIUS

This commentary by the German medical writer Pictorius was published in 1569 as the third volume of his *Opera nova* and appears to have been completed early that same year, since the dedication of this part is dated 29 [*sic*] February 1569. The third volume has a separate title-page and register. The author was living at Ensishem in Alsatia, where he spent the last two decades of his life as city physician.

*Dedication.* (ed. of Basel, 1569) Prae-cellenti viro domino Carolo Gebwilero praeposito Lutenbacensi dignissimo, Georgius Pictorius Villinganus doctor medicus et Ensishemii archiducalis curiae archiater S.D. [*Inc.*]: Lege apud Persas cautum est, reverende domine Praeposite, ut quando-cunque quis sibi mancipatum dominorum aliquem reddere voluisset.../...[*Expl.*]: qua praeditus es aequo animo, ampliora fortassis in posterum dabimus. Datum Ensishemii a Christo nato sesquimillesimo sexagesimonono die Februarii 29.

*In C. Plinii naturalis historiae septimum librum adnotata quaedam, non citra pulverem nunc recens in lucem per Georgium Pictorium doctorem medicum publicata.*

*In Prooemium:* [*Inc.*]: Ut non sit satis aestimare an natura melior parens homini fuerit an tristior noverca [i.e., non ut sit satis aestimare, parens melior homini an tristior noverca: VII, 1]. Quemadmodum hoc loco Plinius naturam dubitanter ceu novercam convitiis proscindit, sic et Lucretius in quinto suorum librorum agit.../...[*Expl.*]: homini plurima ex homine mala [i.e., homini plurima ex homine sunt mala: VII, 5]...ex homine pernicies et eo diligentius tegitur quo propius accidit, Plautus in *Asinaria* hominem homini lupum esse dixit.

(*Text of Book VII.*) [*Inc.*]: In caput primum adnotata. *Magna ex parte in relatione gentium diximus* (VII, 6). In prologo huius

septimi libri Plinius ea scribendo attigit quae hominis recenter nati miseras concernunt. Ast hoc primo capite.../...[Expl.]: *horologia* [referring loosely to the word *horologium*, which appears several times in VII, 213–215]. De horologii inventione Vitruvius libro nono de architectura et Polidorus libro secundo de rebus inventis, capite quinto.

*Edition:*

1569, Basileae (Basel): Sixtus Henricpetri. The third volume, having separate title-page and register, of Pictorius' *Opera nova*; commentary only. NUC. BM; BN; (ICN; MH-Z).

*Biography:*

Georgius Pictorius Villinganus (Georg Pictor, or Maler, of Villingen), German physician and writer on medicine and natural history, was born about 1500 and died in 1569. Educated at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, where he first became a schoolmaster and then turned to the study of medicine, he became a professor in the Freiburg medical faculty. In 1540 he moved to Ensisheim in Alsatia, where he spent the rest of a long career working as physician to the city and to the archducal court. Although he published a number of works on classical subjects and also showed interest in the Florentine Neoplatonists, he retained an interest in medieval medical and scientific writings as well.

*Works:* In addition to his notes on Pliny, Pictorius edited or annotated several texts on natural history: Marbod, *Liber lapidum* (1531); Mesue...*loci communes* (1545); pseudo-Aemilius Macer, *De herbarum virtutibus* (1559). Many of his works, including the Pliny commentary, were collected in his *Opera nova* (3 vols; Basel, 1569). He also published *Apotheseos tam exterarum gentium quam Romanorum deorum libri tres* (1558); *Medicinae tam simplices quam compositae* (1560); Παντοπωλιον..., *De daemonum ortu Isagoge*, and *De speciebus magiae ceremonialis* (all published together, 1563); *Physicarum quaestionum centuriae tres* (1568); *Sanitatis tuendae ratio* (first ed. 1530; many reprints and Italian and French

translations); *Sermonum convivialium libri X* (1559); and two vernacular medical works, *Raiss Büchlin* (1557) and *Grien Büchlin* (1557). He also wrote a work on the use of Jewish physicians, *Von Zernichten Arten* (1557); on public baths (1560); on the plague (1551); epigrams (n.d.) and a *Theologia mythologica* (1532).

*Bibl.:* Jöcher III, 1555; J. Pagel and W. Haberling, in *Biographisches Lexikon der hervorragenden Ärzte*<sup>2</sup>, IV (1932), 600; Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, V, 502–503; VI, 302, 399–406; Schottenloher, *Bibliographie*<sup>2</sup> II, 139.

Fritz Behrend, "Georgius Pictorius, Archiater zu Ensisheim, gegen Volksaberglauben und Kurpfuscherei," *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 11 (1919), 218–222; Ernst Georg Kürz, "Das Bienenbüchlein des Georg Pictorius von Villingen," *Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte in Donauesschingen*, 9 (1896), 137–175; idem, *Georgius Pictorius von Villingen* (Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1895); Friedrich Pfaff, "Georg Pictorius über Bäder des Kaiserstuhls und Schwarzwalds bei Freiburg i.B.," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Beförderung der Geschichts-, Altertums- und Volkskunde von Freiburg*, 11 (1894), 113–117; L. Pfleger, "Georg Pictorius," *Elsassland*, 10 (1930), 143–146; Ernst Scheffelt, "Der Arzt Georgius Pictorius, 1500–69," *Badische Heimat*, 39 (1959), 8–9.

#### 40. MELCHIOR GUILANDINUS

This commentary covers three chapters of Book XIII (Ch. 11–13 in the old numeration, or sect. 68–89 in the modern) which deal with papyrus. The dedication to Baptista Grimaldus is dated 15 March 1572, from the medical garden at Padua which Guilandinus directed from 1561. Its composition probably falls into the latter part of the interval between his appointment at Padua and publication, a conclusion supported by the clear reference to the violence of religious wars which Guilandinus attributes to the misuse of excessively abundant paper for publication of attacks on true religion by heretics (see his postscript to Gri-

malus at the end of the work, quoted below). His postscript also states that he devoted "six whole months" to writing this short work, though his reference in the dedicatory epistle to more extensive notes on all parts of *Naturalis historia* suggests that the preliminaries to the composition must have gone back well before 1572. Guilandinus justifies his publication of only this small portion of his work on Pliny in terms of the obscurity of the passage chosen and the general ignorance then prevailing about ancient writing materials. He also states clearly the methodological principles he has adopted, arguing that while poems and most other literary genres should be emended only on the basis of ancient manuscripts, writers on natural history, whose proper aim is to present a factual description of things as they exist in nature, may also properly be emended on the basis of other authoritative works on the same topic. In other words, he views the function of the commentator on a work of natural history as being not the philological restoration of an ancient text, but rather the determination of scientific truth (though he appears to conceive this determination as being based solely on the study of the various authorities, and not as the result of the commentator's own experiments and observations). Guilandinus' dedicatory epistle also provides a substantial list of earlier commentators and scholars who dealt with Pliny (beginning with Barbarus), and shows that he conceived his own contribution to Pliny scholarship in terms of this tradition of humanistic scholarship. His work on papyrus was sharply criticized by the famed scholar Josephus Justus Scaliger, who produced a commentary on Guilandinus' commentary (*Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini Commentarium in tria C. Plinii de papyro capita libri XIII*, printed in Scaliger's *Opuscula varia*, edited by Isaac Casaubon [Paris, 1610; reprinted, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1612]). Yet Guilandinus' work remained an acknowledged authority on papyrus and was still highly regarded by J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires*, XIII, 88-89, cf. XXIII, 311.

*Dedication* (ed. of Venice, 1572). Melchior Guilandinus Baptistae Grimaldo, viro illustri atque magnanimo, S. D. [*Inc.*]: Semper constans et praeclara eruditorum de Caii Plinii naturali historia existimatio fuit, Baptista Grimalde magnanime, inter Latina veterum auctorum monumenta hodie existentia haud facile inveniri quod ei recte conferri, nedum anteferri valeat. . . . Sicut autem nostra patrumque memoria facile eruditissimus quisque animadvertit, maiores aliquanto in hoc uno thesauros abscondi quam in multis aliis Latinis scriptoribus, ita prompte non mediocrem operam navavit, ut divinum opus quod plerique propter summam qua a transcribentibus [*sic*] affectum fuit iniuriam vitabant, tutius inspicere, in manibus haberi, et ab omnibus legi posset. Inter quos tametsi Hermolaus Barbarus patriarcha Aquileiensis, vir in tantum laudandus, in quantum intelligi virtus potest, ita effulgeat ut omnes post se intervallo relinquat et secundum habeat neminem, tamen defraudandi sua laude non sunt Budaeus, Rhenanus, Caesarius, Ruellius, Aldus, Perottus, Aquaeus, Gelenius, Becichemus, alii non pauci, quorum studio et diligentia effectum est ut Plinium sine molestia prope ac stomacho legere valeamus. Quanquam autem ii omne tulisse punctum videantur, cum quod plurima praeclarissimi operis vulnera sanaverunt et multos locos obscuros illustraverunt, tum quod difficultates passim exuberantes attigerunt et quasi digito monstraverunt, tamen superesse adhuc non pauciora in eo ulcera. . . . Verum enim ex multis quos hucusque censurae subieci locis, constitui unicum tantummodo hoc tempore de papyro chartisque tractatum emittere, tum quod is mihi semper visus sit obscurissimus, nec tam neglectus ab aliis quam non intellectus esse, tum quod animadvertam ignorari etiam a doctissimis quali veteres materia scripserint, quaenam eorum charta fuerit et qua arte concinnari solita sit. . . . Fateor quidem eam esse optimam et tutissimam libros emendandi rationem quae per manu scripta atque ea antiquissima exemplaria instituitur, quando haberi possunt; sed illis deficientibus nihil in hoc

conatu cum laude praestari constanter eo inficias. Etsi enim Timon ille sciscitanti Arato, quo pacto quispiam Homeri poema sine menda consequi queat, recte respondit antiqua si incidat in exemplaria, non ea quae nuper emendata sunt. Tamen non idem etiam protinus iudicium faciendum erit de Plinio, Solino, et caeteris id genus scriptoribus, qui quod res in natura existentes non carmine sed soluta oratione, nec fabulose seu fecte sed historica fide et ut sunt persequuti fuerunt, possunt non inepte alter per alterum, et alii multi per illos, et vicissim illi per alios multos cum Latinos tum Graecos qui idem argumentum tractavere, instaurari atque in veterem dignitatem integritatemque restitui. Quid praestiterim, ignoro. Certe ut praestarem aliquid, conatus sum sedulo ac diligenter, cuius rei testes erunt loci obscuriores multi, non in verbis modo Plinii sed aliorum quoque auctorum plurium quos, quantum in me fuit, dedi operam ut his commentariis quos ad has de papyro emendationes adieci quam potui lucidissime illustrarem.../[*Expl.*]: de papyro offero, suscepturus approbaturusque sis. Etiam atque etiam vale. Ex horto medicinali Patavino Idib. Martii, Anno a Christo nato M.D.LXXII.

*Melchioris Guilandini Papyrus, hoc est, Commentarius in C. Plinii senioris aliquot capita.*

*Preface.* [*Inc.*]: Plinius ille, qui opus pulcherrimum naturalis historiae condidit, cum animum ad mundanae descriptionem machinae appulisset, a mundi definitione exorsus.../[*Expl.*]: auctor verba de illa facturum, in hunc exorditur modum libro XIII illius naturalis historiae, capite XI.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.*]: Membrum I. *Non-dum palustria attigimus...humanitas vitae constet, et [for certe] memoria.* *Commentarius Guilandini.* Cum auctor superioribus aliquot libri huius tertiidecimi capitibus, tum etiam hoc ipso capite undecimo.../[*Expl.*]: quas in Aegypto, Iudaea, Syria, et in universa cis Taurum Asia multo antequam Alexander nasceretur notas fuisse non dubito, in Europa tamen non nisi sero et

fortasse Alexandri primum victoria publicitus atque abundanter inclaruere.

(The following passage, though printed as if it were a continuation of the preceding one, really refers to the quotation from Pliny's text which is quoted as the lemma for Membrum XXVII of the commentary and which is printed after, rather than before, Guilandinus' note on it:)

Quam sententiam stabilire videntur quae Plinius postremo mox membro subiungit, quando Tiberio quoque imperante, cum Romani tota Aegypto potirentur, laboratum nihilominus chartarum penuria perhibet.

(Then comes the quotation which is really the lemma for what has just been quoted:)

Membrum XXVII. *Factumque iam Tiberio principe inopia chartae, ut e senatu darentur arbitri dispensandi, alias in tumultu vita erat* (XIII, 89). *Commentarius Guilandini.*

(The text printed as the "Commentarius Guilandini" on XIII, 89, is not in fact his commentary, which (as noted above) had already been printed before the passage which it expounded; instead, the following text is a kind of author's postscript in the form of a continuation of the letter of dedication to Baptista Grimaldus which precedes the whole commentary.)

[*Inc.*]: Haec habui, Baptista Grimalde amplissime, quae ad tria C. Plinii de papyro chartisque capita exararem. Quarum rerum tantum abest ut timeam ne quis tenuitatem facilitatemque insectetur, ut verear ne magnitudine potius ac difficultate deterrear. Etenim me quoque iuvat iamdiu hoc scriptionis genus pertaesum ad finem historiae papyri pervenisse. Nam etsi profiteri ausum, perscripturum commentarios in universam C. Plinii historiam naturalem, in partibus singulis tanti operis minime convenit, tamen cum mecum reputo unam papyrum, hoc est insensilem eorum librorum particulam, sex integros menses mihi surripuisse, pudet pariter et poenitet tantum temporis unis chartis impendisse. Quarum si tantam hodie penuriam haberemus quanta Tiberio imperante laboratum fuit, cum de senatus consulto et voluntate iudicum chartae dispensabantur, minus pro-

fecto infelix Europa tumultuaretur, quam ingens earum copia indies magis magisque frangit atque affligit. Quid enim chartis acceptum referri non debet? Unde nostra patrumque memoria graviora aut bella aut caedes frequentiores exortae? Quas non noxias, pravas de Deo et religione credulitates restibilis ista chartarum fecunditas in Europam invexit?.../...[*Expl.*]: Ego sicubi in hoc opere vel in aliis a me conscriptis quidquam incautius asserui quod sincerae doctrinae Romanae ecclesiae minus quadrare videatur, veniam mihi dari cum humiliter tum reverenter postulo, et me non tam scientia quam ignorantia lapsum palam profiteor atque attestor.

*Editions:*

1572, Venetiis (Venice): Marcus Antonius Ulmus. NUC; Brunet, *Manuel*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1814; *Clément IX*, 311–314; Graesse, *Trésor III*, 180; Adams G-1562. BM; BN; (NNC; ICU; MoSB).

1576, Lausannae (Lausanne): Franciscus le Preux. NUC. BM; BN; (IU; ICU; DNLM).

1613, Ambergae (Amberg): typis Schönfeldianis. NUC. BM; (DNAL; NjP; MoSB).

*Biography:*

See p. 86 above.

41. ANONYMUS BRUXELLENSIS A

This anonymous commentary covering Books II–XXXVII is in a miscellany of commentaries and readers' notes on *Naturalis historia* in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels. The library's description dates the manuscript about 1580 and indicates a Spanish origin which is confirmed by the presence of a portion (Book VII) of the unpublished commentary by the Spanish humanist Johannes Andreas Straneus (see above, p. 383). The earliest possible date of the present commentary is 1524, since it is explicitly based on the edition of Pliny published by Johannes Caesarius in 1524, though comparison of these notes with the commentary by Caesarius does not suggest that he is the source of the present work. A date close to the probable date of the manu-

script itself, about 1580, seems likely. The only title in the work appears on fol. 5<sup>r</sup>, at the beginning of the notes on Book VII: "Commentaria in librum septimum C. Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae, ex editione Io. Caesarii in-fol. Coloniae 1524."

*Commentary.* C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae liber secundus. [*Inc.*]: Caput Primum. *Mundum*. Qui constat ex elementis et caelo. *Finitus et infinito similis*. Caesarius [my conjectural reading of an unclear abbreviation] *infinitus et finito similis* legit ex ipso Plinio statim aut si haec infinitus... [*Expl.* (XI, 199)]: *Supprimitur. supra nititur* melius ut videamur, accedere vis, et iste per *infundibitur* cum *infundibile* ipso larga inscripta *supra nititur*, vel legere *suprapremitur. Illorum ut guttur* (XI, 200). Melius mea sententia legeretur ad quartum *apud guttur*.

*Manuscript:*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8481–8483. Miscellany of commentaries and reader's notes on Pliny, s. XVI (ca. 1580), Spanish origin, paper, 179 leaves. Provenance: Antwerp, Jesuits. Comm. only, on fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>. The only element in the manuscript that can be attributed to a known author is the commentary of Johannes Andreas Straneus, of which the portion on Book VII, identified as the work of "Andreas Straneus Valentinus," appears on fols. 165<sup>r</sup>–179<sup>v</sup>. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale des Ducs de Bourgogne* (1842), I, 170; Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II(1971), 41 (item 219, MS. no. 8481–83), regards all the materials in this manuscript as a single anonymous commentary on Pliny.

42. ANONYMUS BRUXELLENSIS B

This anonymous commentary, covering *Praefatio* and Books II–XXXVII of Pliny, is in the same miscellany as the preceding, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 8481–8483. It must be later than 1539, since its heading refers to the Froben edition of that

year, but a date near 1580, approximate date of the manuscript itself, seems likely.

In *Libros Naturalis historiae C. Plinii Secundi*, editionis Frobenianae, Anno M.D.XXXIX. A note from St. Jerome follows, headed: *Divus Hieronymus super Isaïam, Capitulum primum de duodecim lapidibus τοῦ λόγος (sic)*.

*Praefatio. Libri primi praefatio. [Inc.]: opus natum. Natos legit Rhenanus et codex Toletanus. ut obiter emolliam. Si emolliam legendum est, nonnihil immutandus esset versus Catulli, ita ut ex duro carmine prosa mollior redderetur.../...[Expl.]: ἐποπτιδων. Mysteriorum interpretandum est. Mystae enim sunt qui iniciantur; ἐπόπται...post annum dicuntur. Quum publicae famae tympanum (Praef. 25). Cum prae fame tympanum in aliis codicibus habetur. Quod fortasse melius est cum uterque tam Tiberius quam Plinius ut apparet Apionem subsannare velut etiamsi illud prae pro publicae poni in manu scripto codice dicat Rhenanus, quem consule.*

*Commentary. Liber Secundus. [Inc.]: Finitus siderum (tinnitus siderum, II, 6). Finitus siderum respectu motus totius caeli alioqui finitus videretur extenuare.../...[Expl.]: nam de radice nigra qui poterat vulgus caeruleas fecundum. Ostreae atticae (Ochrae Atticae, XXXVII, 179). Ochrae Atticae legit Isidorus, libro 15 Etymologiarum, capitulo 4. Finis.*

*Manuscript:*

Brussels, *Bibliothèque Royale*, MS. 8481-8483. Comm. only, on fols. 68<sup>r</sup>-106<sup>r</sup>. See description and reference to Calcoen in preceding item.

#### 43. JACOBUS DALECHAMPIUS

This extensive commentary, which appears at the ends of chapters in the edition of *Naturalis historia* edited by Jacobus Dalechampus at Lyons in 1587, was the most influential of the late sixteenth-century treatments of Pliny. The date of the colophon in the first edition, 1586, establishes the probable date of the completion of the work, but the author claims in his preface

that he had been at work on it for a decade and that for at least part of that period, had devoted full time to it. In fact, however, the work on the commentary must have proceeded simultaneously with Dalechampus' research for his famous botanical work, *Historia plantarum* (2 vols.; Lyons, 1586-1587). The earliest possible date for systematic work by him on the text of Pliny appears to be 1563, for a copy of the Lyons edition of that year, now in the Beinecke Library at Yale University, appears to have served as the working copy for compilation of his notes. Professor F. E. Cranz, who kindly inspected the book for me, reports not only that the notes bear substantial relation to the published commentary but also that the Beinecke Library has obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris confirmation that the handwritten notes in this copy appear to be in the hand of Dalechampus. This commentary was influential not only because of its great length and thorough coverage of the text but also because the author based his emendations on "six codices written with pen," including two to which he and the following generations of scholars attributed great authority: "a most old and uncorrupted manuscript from Besançon" owned by the physician Chiffletius and lent to the author for a whole year, and a manuscript owned by the legist Cujas, who had rescued it "from the dusty archives of a certain monastery." (For quotations, see his Preface, quoted below.) The former of these manuscripts, *codex Chiffletianus* (f in the modern editorial notations, and identified by the nineteenth-century Detlefsen [but not by all scholars] with F, or *codex Leidensis Lipsii*), is still cited (through Dalechamps) as one of the manuscript class of *recentiores*. One of Dalechampus' other manuscripts, which he cites as *M* or *Man*. in his marginal glosses, also remains in the modern textual tradition, cited as *z*. (On these manuscripts, see Ernest Ernout, "Introduction," in the new "Association Guillaume Budé" edition of Pliny, I [Paris, 1950], 28, 31-32.) Thus for its period, Dalechampus' commentary had a substantial



textual foundation. Also of great interest is the commentator's clear statement of editorial priorities, in which (acting no doubt from his standpoint as a noted physician and botanist) he insisted that the goal of his commentary must be primarily the elucidation of the scientific subjects covered in Pliny's text, and only secondarily the linguistic and rhetorical goals which had dominated much earlier scholarship on Pliny (see illustrative quotation from Preface, below).

*Dedication* (ed. of Lyons, 1587). Serenissimo et generosissimo principi subalpinorum Insubrum, cisalpinorum Allobrogum, et magnae Ligurum partis, Carolo Emanueli. *Inc.*: Invaluit iam ac inveteravit mos, serenissime princeps, quibus decretum est ingenii sui monumenta posteritati relinquere.../...*[Expl.]*: explicata et hilari fronte ut excipias, rogat et obsecrat, qui tibi est addictissimus summissequae ac reverenter manus tuas osculatur.

*Preface*. Candido Lectori. *[Inc.]*: Permultos equidem miraturos prospicio, in medicina facienda mihi occupatissimo quid venerit in mentem, Plinium ut tractare vellem... , praesertim cum tam plures insignes eloquentia, doctrina, iudicio, ex Italis Barbarus, ex Hispanis Pintianus, Gelenius ex Germanis, Turnebus ex nostratibus laborem eum susceperint, illoque strenue ac foeliciter defuncti sint... Ego me Hercule, quamvis stultissimum foret cum illis aevi nostri luminibus vel ingenio vel eruditione me conferre, non ideo tamen discedendum ab eo putavi quod destinaram, multis de causis non solum adductus verum etiam accensus, quas hic commemorare, benigne Lector, non absurdum erit, mihi ut aequior sis, et intelligent omnes non gloriae stimulis et aviditate me percitum, laboriosissimum hoc onus subiisse ac tolerasse per decennium, sed ut quocumque modo liceret prodessem reipublicae literariae... et ne me mortuo lucubrationes hae, qualescumque sint, intercidant, si bene auguror, non futurae iis inutiles qui nobilissimi huius auctoris lectione delectantur... Primum igitur, ex quo studia humaniora degustavi, ea mihi fuit ingenita mentis propensio ut quae ad rerum cogni-

tionem faciunt, iis anteponerem quae ad ornatum et copiam orationis quaeruntur ac comparantur, quod arbitrarer interiorum literarum scientiam homini cordato magis convenire quam dicendi vim ac facundam venustatem. Itaque cum inter Graecos Athenaeus, Plinius inter Latinos, editis libris ea prodiderint quae aliis intacta vel primariis auctoribus, ignota nobis essent, horum scripta nisi superessent ac extarent, in Athenaeo quidem optima fide vertendo, in Plinio vero corrigendo ac explicando noctes diesque sudare, anhelare, faticare non recusavi, ut quae ex aerumna decennali mea perventura esset ad nepotes utilitas, aliqua ex parte nobis imputaretur, et quam assidua sollicitudine reipublicae commodis serviam, etiam hac aetate pessima et ferme decrepita, omnibus testatum esset... Ad eum vero conatum cum valde iam proclivis essem, nihil me vehementius impulit quam quod propitia fortuna, exaratos penna sex codices nactus sum, et inter eos antiquissimum ac sanissimum Vezontinum, e Chiffletii bibliotheca, medici doctissimi ac probatissimi, cuius beneficio mihi concessum est per annum totum examinare singula in impressis codicibus suspecta, prospero nisi fallor successu, quod innumeris locis ea restituta sint quae deplorata credebantur. Attulit quoque multum opis D. Cuiacii non sine praefatione laudis et honoris appellandi liber manuscriptus, e pulverulentis coenobii cuiusdam tablinis erutus, post Chiffletianum prae aliis integer ac incorruptus, quo me pro sua ingenti munificentia donavit. His adiutus subsidiis magni profecto momenti, alacrius et audentius Plinium ita sum aggressus ut dies ac noctes quantum valetudo et privata negotia permiserunt, manum a tabula nunquam removerim.../...*[Expl.]*: hoc meo foetu maturiore, ac seriore, sed mihi si dexter Apollo vocatus adsit, caeteris meis omnibus magis vitali. Vale.

(On fols. a1<sup>r</sup>-y8<sup>v</sup> of ed. 1587 are the *Castigationes* of Sigismundus Gelenius on Pliny, q. v., supra.)

C. Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae liber I. Praefatio. *[Inc.]*: Annotationes. *[Catullum... ille enim.]* In Catullo est, "Cui dono

lepidum meum libellum,/Arida modo pumice expolitum?/Corneli, tibi, namque tu solebas/Meas esse aliquid putare nugas." Visus autem legere Plinius, "Corneli, tibi, tu putare namque (vel, namque tu putare)/Nugas esse aliquid meas solebam" quod profecto durius et asperius fuit.../... [Expl.]: Valerius Soranus. Q. Val[erius] de quo Varro quarto de ling[ua] Lat[ina] et posthac lib[ro] tertio ca[pitulo] quinto.

(There is no commentary on the body of Book I, which is the *Elenchus librorum*. The commentary resumes with the first chapter of Book II.)

C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae liber secundus. [Inc.]: *nomine alio caelum* (II, 1). Vetustissimi Romani cohū appellarunt. Ennius, *pilam vix Sol mediam, complere cohū terroribus audet*.../...[Expl.]: *montium articulis* (XXXVII, 201). In veteribus legitur, *montium obstaculis*, quae ab externarum scilicet gentium iniuria moenium vice Italiam defendunt. Id nimirum est, quod scribit ca[pitulo] primo, lib[ro] duodecimo, Gallias inexuperabili munimento Alpium coerceri, ne Italiae se superfundant. Vide cap[itulo] primo, lib[ro] trigesimo sexto.

Note: In ed. Frankfurt 1599, Dalechampius or some unnamed editor has added new material to the commentary, beginning with Book II and continuing nearly to the end. Both the new and the original versions were subsequently reprinted. Schweiger II, 789, reports conflicting opinions that the author of these added materials was either Janus Gruterus or J. M. Wacker, but he cites no evidence for either attribution. The new opening and closing sections are:

C. Plinii Secundi Naturalis historiae liber secundus. [Inc.]: *nomine alio caelum*. Consimilia Platonis loca adducit Philop[on]us super Aristotelis de ortu et interitu. Unde et haec sua procul dubio hausit Plinius. [Expl.]: *montium articulis* (XXXVII, 201). (This *explicit* is the same as in the 1587 edition).

*Manuscript:*

(\*)New Haven, Connecticut. Beinecke Library, Yale University, GGnp 57/B563.

Manuscript notes in an edition of *C. Plinii Secundi Historiae mundi libri XXXVII* (Lugduni: Apud Ioannem Frellonium, 1563), which appear to constitute a rough preliminary draft of the commentary, in Dalechampius' own hand. Information reported by Professor F. E. Cranz.

*Editions:*

(Note: In the following list, the original version of the commentary (1587) will be designated Form A, and the expanded text introduced in 1599 will be designated Form B. If there is no such notation, the information was not available or, in the case of the last three listings, is not pertinent.)

1587. See above, Composite Editions. Form A.

1599. See above, Composite Editions. Form B.

1606. See above, Composite Editions. Form A.

1608, Francofurti (Frankfurt-am-Main): Claudius Marnius et haeredes Joannis Aubrii. Form B. BM; BN; (DLC; MoSU; NNUT).

(\*)1612, Lutetiae Parisiorum (Paris): Claudius Morellus. (IU).

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): Petrus and Jacobus Chouet. See above, Composite Editions.

1615, Coloniae Allobrogum (Geneva): S. Crispinus. See above Composite Editions. Form A (reported by Dorothy J. Smith of the Reis Library, Allegheny College).

1631. See above, Composite Editions. Form A.

1669. See above, Composite Editions. Not an integral edition of Dalechampius, but a variorum commentary containing selected notes from him and from other commentators.

1778-1791. See above, Composite Editions. Selections as part of a variorum commentary, as in ed. 1669.

1827-1831. See above, Composite Editions. Selections as part of a variorum commentary, as in ed. 1669.

*Biography:*

See CTC II, 258.

Add to Bibliography: St. Le Tourneur, in

*Dictionnaire de biographie française*, IX, 1518; Charles B. Schmitt, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, III, 533-534 (with an excellent bibliography).

#### 44. ALEXANDER PADUANUS

This extensive unprinted commentary, covering Books II-VI of *Naturalis historia*, fills five folio volumes in the one manuscript known. It bears no indication of date, but the author is known to have lived into the early seventeenth century. Thus the late sixteenth century (about 1590-1600), is the probable period of composition, and his native Forlì the probable place. The title-page of vol. I makes reference to the commentaries of Hermolaus Barbarus (1492-1493) and Sigismundus Gelenius (1534; first published, 1535).

*Title.* C. Plinii Secundi historiae mundi pars prima, cum locupletissimis, multiplici eruditione ac rerum varietate ditissimis commentariis. In quibus non solum auctoris placita exprimuntur, dilucidantur, aperiuntur, verum mirabilium effectuum causis naturalibus ubique adductis, totius naturae arcana panduntur. In geographicis locorum synonyma, situs, origines gentium, mores, res gestae praecipuae, et alia ad plenam veteris historiae cognitionem ex selectioribus scriptoribus asseruntur. Et amplius innumera fere loca in hac prima parte ab Hermolao Barbaro et Sigismundo Gelenio minus recte sanata aut praetermissa suae integritati restituuntur, Alexandro Paduano Philosopho ac medico foroliviensi auctore.

*Commentary.* [*Inc.* (II, 1, implying *Mundum*)]: Multae fuerunt apud priscos de mundo opiniones, quidam enim quod omnia complectitur mundum esse dixerunt, cuius opinionis princeps fuit Pythagoras.../...[*Expl.*] (VI, 212, *gnomonem*):...si enim priores eo Gnomonis rationem potuissent, ipse quoque eandem reddidisset, sed quia non potuerunt (ut credimus) ideo etiam ab ipso dimissa fuit.

*Manuscript:*

(micro.) Forlì, Biblioteca Comunale, MS.

III 12-16, 5 vols. (with text). (Kristeller, *Iter* I, 231).

*Biography:*

Alexander Paduanus (Alessandro Padovani), of Forlì, lived in the latter part of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century. There is little information about him. He refers to himself as "philosopher and physician" in the present commentary, and in fact was a member of a distinguished medical family. His father, Fabritius, wrote several medical and scientific works; and his uncle, Franciscus, was physician to the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague.

*Works:* Paduanus' works, like the Pliny commentary, have all remained in manuscript in the Biblioteca Comunale at Forlì. The others are: MS. 95, *Curationes variae* and other medical works, in 12 volumes; and MS. 116, *Istoria di Forlì*. (The manuscript numbers are apparently not those in current use, but are given by Giuseppe Mazzatinti, *Inventari*, vol. I.) In 1601, Alexander edited two works by his father, printed together: *Tractatus duo. Alter, De ventis. Alter perbrevis, De terrae motu*.

*Bibl.:* Fabricius Paduanus, *Tractatus duo* (Bologna, 1601), fol. 2 (dedication to Francesco Maria II, Duke of Urbino, by Alexander); Giorgio Viviano Marchesi Buonaccorsi, *Vitae virorum illustrium Foroliviensium* (Forlì, 1726), pp. 200-201, 300; Giuseppe Mazzatinti, "Prefazione," in L.A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (nuova ed., by Giosuè Carducci and Vittorio Fiorini, Tomo XXII, Parte II; Bologna, 1903-1909), *Annales Forolivienses*, fasc. 2, pp. viii-ix; cf. p. 182.

#### 45. NICOLAUS MARONEA

This commentary by Nicolaus Maronea, *Commentarius in tractatus Dioscoridis et Plinii de amomo*, deals with only one passage (XII, 48-50) of *Naturalis historia*, a discussion of the oriental plants *amomum* and *cardamomum*, and with a similar passage in Dioscorides. It was first published in

1608. For more on the date and circumstances of the work, see above, p. 112.

*Dedication and Preface.* See above, p. 112.

Commentarius in Dioscoridem de Amomo. See above, p. 112.

Nicolai Maroneae Veronensis commentarius in Plinium de Amomo. [*Inc.*]: Hac secunda nostri commentarii parte interpretabimur Plinii de amomo historiam, quam lib[ro]. XII, cap[itulo]. XIII complexus est.... Plinius habet: *Amomi uva in usu est, Indica vite labrusca.... Hoc et apud Medos nascitur. Pretium optimi in libras XII* (XII, 48-50). In transcribenda historia de amomo noluimus praetermittere descriptionem cardamomi....

Iam vero aggrediamur verborum expositionem. Inquit Plinius, *Amomi uva in usu.* ... (XII, 48). Hac particula Plinius amomi fructum quodammodo describens appellat uvam, quam affirmat esse in usu.../... [*Expl.*]: *Pretium optimi in lib[r]as*. XII (XII, 50). ... qui neque omiserit pretium cardamomi, quae est minoris momenti observatio. Haec de cardamomo dicta sint.

Consensus Dioscoridis et Plinii in amomi historia. See above, p. 112.

*Edition:*

See p. 112 above.

*Biography:*

See pp. 112-13 above.

#### 46. RODOLPHUS GOELENIUS

The commentary on Book II of *Naturalis historia* which was published at Marburg in 1612 with the title *Idea philosophiae Platonicae* has sometimes been ascribed to the elder Rodolphus Goclenius of Corbach (1547-1627) but is probably the work of his son, the younger Rodolphus Goclenius (1572-1621). Both father and son were professors at the University of Marburg, and both taught many of the same subjects, especially in the field of natural philosophy. The father's appointment dates from 1581 and the son's from sometime in the early seventeenth century. Both father and son were actively publishing books throughout

the years when the Pliny commentary was written. The evidence that the son was the author of the commentary seems fairly decisive. The author describes himself as "doctor of medicine," a title certainly held by the younger man but apparently not by the elder. He also describes himself as "ordinary professor of natural science," a title that might have been appropriate to the father in his earlier years, when he taught physics, logic, and mathematics, but not after 1603, from which year he held simultaneously the chairs of logic and ethics. In the dedicatory epistle (p. 5), the author expresses gratitude to his two noble patrons for "the beneficence and good will with which your most noble parents always favored our family," a remark that seems more appropriate coming from a man whose family has risen in status during the preceding generation (that is, during the time when the elder Goclenius rose from modest burgher origins to his position as Marburg's most famous philosopher and as a close adviser to Landgrave Moritz of Hesse) than from a man like the father, whose family had not enjoyed rank and influence. Finally, the father often added his place of birth (Corbachensis) to his name, but no such toponym is associated with the author's name in *Idea philosophiae Platonicae*. Aside from the date of publication, 1612, there is no indication of precisely when the commentary on Book II was composed, though Marburg was probably the place of composition. The circumstances of composition are reasonably clear. The dedicatory epistle describes the commentary as an outgrowth of the author's public lectures on Book II of Pliny. The commentary is preceded by the text of Book II, with marginal glosses by Goclenius, and is followed by two appended treatises on questions of natural philosophy.

*Idea philosophiae Platonicae: Specillum naturalis radiaturae, id est opticae, motus solis, cometarum natura et locus, tonitruorum et fulminum memorabilia: omnia publice in Academia Marpurgensi proposita, cum Caii Plinii liber II superioribus annis explicandus introducetur.*

*Dedication* (ed. of Marburg, 1612). Reverendis ac nobilissimis virtutumque fama ac laude florentissimis, Domino Georgio et Domino Henrico Friderico ab Hotzfeld, Dominis in Willenburg, illi ecclesiae Fulden-sis decano, huic archiepiscopalis ecclesiae Moguntinae canonico, dominis suis suspici-endis, Rodolphus Goclenius, Medicinae Doctor, precatur felicitatem maximam. [*Inc.*]: Recte doctissimi semper naturaeque rerum callentissimi viri C. Plinium, auc-torem sermone et rebus gravissimum.... Quapropter omnibus modis danda est opera ut academiarum et politioris literaturae stu-diosis hic auctor reddatur familiaris, in quem ego finem superioribus annis librum eius secundum, totam fere naturalis scien-tiae historiam continentem, publice coepi explicare, inque aliquibus locis scholiis illustrare, quantum quidem tunc temporis ratio ac conditio patiebatur.../...[*Expl.*]: Sique intellexero, vos muneris huius mei levitate offensos non esse, triumphum agam, et mecum optime actum putabo. Deus opti-mus maximus Reverentias vestras d[ie] et n[octe] diutissimae [sic, for diutissime?] sospitet. Marburgi, e museo meo, 5. Augusti 1612.

(A table of chapter titles for Book II and the text of Book II, with marginal glosses by Goclenius, precedes the commentary.)

In Pliniana quaedam capita annota-tiones breves et perspicuae Rodolphi Goclenii Medicinae Doctoris. [*Inc.*]: Ad Caput I. De Mundo. Mundum quinque modis usurpari apud auctores vetustos reperi, 1. pro mundo Archetypo, aeterno et intelli-gibili.../...[*Expl.*, in commentary on Ch. XLIII]: Acutus autem evadit hic lapis, quoniam siccitate in suprema parte coacta vapor admixtus effugere nititur ad inferiora, iccirco eam partem reddit crassiorem, superiori desinente in acumen.

The following related texts are appended:

1. Appendix de mirificis quibusdam et stupendis fulminum et tonitruorum effectibus et significationibus. [*Inc.*]: I. Saepe solet anxie quaeri ac ultro citroque disputari an fulminis effectus, ut cum homo aut iumentum ita ab eo

exanimatur.../...[*Expl.*]: foelix auspiciu[m] afferre. Plura de fulminum superstitionis observationibus vide apud Plinium capitulo 52.

2. Prognostica tonitruorum naturalia. [*Inc.*]: Tempestatum prognostica non iucunda tantum sed vehementer utilia, tum ad agrorum cultum esse.../... [*Expl.*]: propterea quod telum Iovis non profundius 5. pedibus in terram adigatur. Et tantum de tonitruorum et fulminum effectibus.

*Edition:*

(micro.) 1612, Marburgi Cattorum (Mar-burg): Rodolphus Hutwelckerus (with text of Book II). BM; BN.

*Biography:*

Rodolphus Goclenius (Rudolf Göckel) the Younger (1572–1621), born at Wittenberg, son of the much more famous Rodolphus Goclenius the Elder, apparently received his education in Marburg, where his father was professor in the faculty of liberal arts from 1581 to his death at an advanced age in 1627. Educated in liberal arts and in medi-cine, the younger Goclenius began pub-lishing works on natural and occult science before the end of the sixteenth century and continued to write and publish down to his death in 1621. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, he joined his father on the Marburg faculty, becoming professor of physics in 1608, and subsequently also teaching mathematics and medicine (Her-melink and Kaehler, pp. 218–219; Thorn-dike VII, 140–142, dates his professorship of mathematics from 1612). He shared his father's interest in natural philosophy and concentrated most of his scholarship and teaching in that field and in medicine, whereas the father was a noted polymath, active not only in natural philosophy but also in grammar, logic, psychology, and poetry. The son's interest in the occult ele-ment within natural philosophy and medi-cine was more pronounced than the father's, and his description of a magnetic cure for wounds and of a weapon-salve to guard against wounds involved him in controver-sies over whether this activity involved dia-

bolical agents and superstition. His chief antagonist was the Belgian Jesuit Johannes Roberti. The younger Goclenius was noted for his defense of astrology and also as an authority on chiromancy and other divinatory arts.

*Works:* Goclenius' best known works dealt with the magnetic cure of wounds: *Oratio qua defenditur vulnus non applicato etiam remedio citra ullum dolorem curari naturaliter posse* (Marburg, 1608); *Tractatus de magnetica curatione vulneris citra ullam et superstitionem et dolorem et remedii applicationem* (Marburg, 1609; frequently reprinted); *Tractatus novus de magnetica vulnerum curatione* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1613); *Synarthrosis magnetica, opposita infaustae anatomiae J. Roberti...*, *pro defensione tractatus de magnetica vulnerum curatione* (Marburg, 1617). He also published repeatedly on physiognomy: *Physiognomica et chiromantica specialia* (Marburg, 1621; German translation, Hamburg, 1692); *Uranoscopia, chirospectia et metoposcopia* (Lich, 1603); *Aphorismorum chiromanticorum tractatus compendiosus* (Lich, 1597); and *Uranoscopiae, chirospectiae, metopospectiae et ophthalmospectiae contemplatio* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1608). Another field of publication was his defense of astrology: *Apologeticus pro astromantia discursus* (Marburg, 1611); *Urania cum geminis filiabus, hoc est astronomia et astrologia* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1615); and *Acroteleuticon astrologicum, triplex hominum genus circa divinationem ex astris in scenam producens, falsamque astrologiam a vera...distinguens* (Marburg, 1618). Many of his books dealt with medicine, including: *Physiologia crepitus ventris et risus* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1607); *Weisz und Weg, sich for der schweren Seuche der Pestilenz...zubewahren* (Marburg, 1607); *De pestis febrisque pestilentis causis, subiecto, differentiis et signis, cum consilio prophylactico et curatorio* (Marburg, 1607); *De vita proroganda, hoc est, Animi corporisque vigore conservando* (Mainz, 1608); *Loimographia, in qua graves quaedam... quaestiones medicorum quorundam igno-*

*rantiam et errorem in curanda peste detegentes explicantur* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1611); *Assertio medicinae universalis adversus universalem vulgo iactatam* (Marburg, 1620); *Tractatus physicus et medicus de sanorum diaeta* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1621); and *Experiment Buch; dasz ist, Probiertes unnd in mancherley Kranckheiten versuchter Artzneyen Offenbahrung und Beschreibung, ausz Dioscoride und Stephano Atheniense verteutschet und mit eigener Erfahrung sehr viel vermehret* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1623). In addition to the present commentary on Pliny's Book II, Goclenius left for posthumous publication a work based on notes compiled from Pliny, *Mirabilium naturae liber*, to which was added another defense of his magnetic cure of wounds (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1625). He also published a work on the luxury and excess of modern banquets, *De luxu conviviali nostri seculi* (Marburg, 1607, designated as the second edition, but I find no trace of a first); and a work on physics, *Physicae generalis libri II* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1613).

*Bibl.:* Most of the very limited scholarly work deals with the elder Goclenius, though the younger is also briefly discussed: Jöcher II, 1031 (articles on both father and son); Thorndike, VII, 139-142; 180-181; 283-285; 379-380; VIII, 448-449. On the father, see also ADB IX, 308-312.

Heinrich Hermelink and S. A. Kaehler, *Die Philipps-Universität zu Marburg, 1527-1927* (Marburg, 1927), *passim*, especially pp. 218-219.

#### 47. DOUBTFUL OR SPURIOUS COMMENTARIES

This category includes lost commentaries, commentaries reported in the secondary literature but unverified, and a large number of works which are not truly commentaries but which do have some connection with Pliny and which by their subject-matter or their title have been (or might easily be) mistaken for commentaries. The arrangement is alphabetical by the author's sur-

name. Authors whose surname is unknown are listed by first name.

a) Antonius Ferrariensis. Johannes Harduinus in his *Praefatio* to Pliny (reprinted in the edition of Pliny by A. J. Valpy [12 vols.; London, 1826], I, 13, refers to a commentator by this name; but this seems to be a reference to the known commentary by Antonius Faber (see above, p. 358).

b) Batavius, Henricus Johannes. *C. Plinii tres morales praefationes; duo in malos mores invectivae; adiunctis etiam vini oleique olivae naturis. Commentariolis Henrici Joannis Batavii reddita explicatiora*. Coloniae: Cornelius Zyrickzee, 1514. Panzer VI, 374, 241, and (for an undated Deventer edition published by Theodoricus de Borne) VI, 489, 53; Schweiger II, 792. I have been unable to confirm these reports by locating a copy.

c) Benedictus, Alexander. Benedictus is the editor of a text of Pliny, without commentary, first published at Brescia in 1496 and reprinted several times (Venice, 1496, 1507, 1513, and 1516; Lyons, 1507; Paris [Pontius le Preux, printed by Nicolaus de Pratis; François Regnault is the publisher in some copies], 1516). Though the editorial work of Benedictus (Alessandro Benedetti) was thus rather influential, he did not produce a commentary.

d) Budaëus, Gulielmus (Guillaume Budé). Although Budaëus is often cited in the literature as an authority on Pliny and was a major source for commentaries (beginning with the variorum commentary compiled by Nicolaus Beraldu, q.v., above, p. 358) and marginal glosses until the nineteenth century, his influence stemmed not from a commentary but from the treatment of portions of Pliny in his famous treatise on ancient coinage, *De asse et partibus eius* (1513).

e) Calderinus, Domitius. His *Defensio adversus Brotheum grammaticum commentariorum Martialis calumniatorem, cum recriminatione retaxationis Pliniana in qua Brotheus ducentis et LXXV locis praestantissimum scriptorem depravavit* (first published in 1474 or 1475 with Calderinus'

*Commentarii in Juvenalem*, and reprinted several times) is an attack on the Pliny (and Martial) commentator Nicolaus Perottus, and not properly a commentary, though a work with some influence on Pliny scholarship in the late fifteenth century. See Introduction, pp. 309–10, for a discussion of the controversy of which this work was part.

f) Calphurnius, Johannes. Professor of rhetoric at Padua and rival of the humanist Raphael Regius, he delivered a course of lectures on Pliny against which Regius directed his own commentary (see above, p. 337, for Regius; cf. Introduction, p. 311).

g) Calvus, Franciscus. Fabricius, BL I, 509, lists such a commentator, but this report cannot be verified.

h) Ciacconius (Ciacconus), Petrus, *In Plinium notae*. Antonius, BHN II, 183, reports (at second hand) the existence of extensive manuscript notes on Pliny. No copy has been located, either by me or by Professor Virginia Brown of the Pontifical Institute Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, who kindly reported the results of her search in Spanish libraries. Hence the commentary, if such it was, is lost. Fabricius BL I, 505.

There is a reference to notes by Ciacconius in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS. 8481–8483, fol. 161r: "In libro septimo Plinii Naturalis historiarum Annotata a Pet[ro] Ciacconio ex manuscriptis Toletano et Salmanticensi," but the two pages of notes on Pliny that follow this heading appear to be nothing more than textual glosses. On the manuscript, see Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II (1971), 41 (item no. 219, MS. no. 8481–83), who, however, lists this miscellany of texts as if it were a single anonymous commentary on Pliny.

i) Collenuccius, Pandulphus (Pandolfo Collenuccio). Fabricius BL I, 503, 509; Schweiger II, 801. Collenuccius was a noted Italian jurist, whose *Pliniana defensio adversus Nicolai Leonicensi accusationem* (1493) was a contribution to the most important of the late fifteenth century contro-



versies about Pliny, but was not a commentary. See Fortuna, p. 310 above.

j) Constantius, Antonius, Fanensis (Antonio Costanzo, 1436–1490). Fabricius BL I, 505. The commentator Pintianus (Fernando Nuñez de Guzmán) in his *Observationes . . . in loca obscura . . . historiae naturalis C. Plinii* (Antverpiae, 1547), fol. 106<sup>r</sup>, refers to *Constantius Fanensis in sua centuria* as if it were a commentary, but I have located no such work. His *Epigrammatum libellus* was printed posthumously (Fano, 1502).

k) Cordus, Simon, Januensis (Simone Cordo). Apparently only one edition (Venice, 1514) of his *Synonyma medicinae sive clavis sanationis* contains an apparatus of quotations from Pliny and other authors illustrating points in the text. This is not, however, a commentary on Pliny.

l) Curtius, Lancinus (Lancino Curzio, da Milano). In the preface to his unprinted commentary on Pliny, Benedictus Jovius (see above, pp. 356–57) includes “Lancilotus Curtius” in a list of earlier commentators; but the only known work by this author is his *Epigrammaton libri decem* (Milan, 1521).

m) Dunus, Thaddaeus. His *Muliebrium morborum omnis generis remedia, ex Dioscoride, Galeno, Plinio, barbarisque et Arabibus studiose collecta et disposita* (Strasbourg, 1565) contains materials from Pliny but is not a commentary.

n) Egnatius, Baptista, Venetus (Battista Egnazio). Chapter 15 of his *Racemationes* (printed in the *Annotationes veteres et recentes* of the Pliny commentator Marcus Antonius Coccius, called Sabellicus [Venice, 1502]) discusses a portion of Book IV (apparently IV, 119–120) but he cannot quite be classed as a commentator on the basis of this one note.

o) Ephorinus, Anselmus. Panzer VI, 473, 210, and Schweiger II, 794: *Naturalis historiae liber XXIX medico commentario distinctus ac illustratus, per Anselmum Ephorinum Pacimontanum Silesium* (Cracoviae, 1530). If correct, these references would be to a published commentary on Book XXIX of Pliny; but I have not located

a copy and hence classify the reports as unconfirmed.

p) Erasmus, Desiderius. Although fairly often cited as an authority on Pliny, Erasmus produced no commentary. His reputation rests partly on his association with the edition with commentary by Nicolaus Beralduus (Paris, 1516), for which he wrote a prefatory epistle, and partly on his role as editor of one of the Froben editions of Pliny (Basel, 1525), to which he (probably with the help of Sigismundus Gelenius) contributed some textual emendations.

q) Ferrarius, Octavius. Fabricius, BL I, 505, quotes from Daniel Gulielmus Mollerus a letter of Ferrarius in which he claims to have spent many years working on a commentary, using a manuscript which belonged to Pico della Mirandola. If there was such a commentary, I have found no trace of its survival.

r) Flaminius, Antonius. Fabricius BL I, 509; Harduinus, “Praefatio,” in the edition of Pliny by A. J. Valpy (London, 1826), I, 13, says merely that a little commentary on the *Prooemium* of *Naturalis historia* has been ascribed to Flaminius, but does not claim to have seen it.

s) Gesnerus, Conradus. His *Scholia in Plinii aliquot loca*, printed in his edition of *P. Ovidii Nasonis Halieuticon* (Tiguri, 1556), pp. 8–11, are not really a commentary on Pliny but an interpretation of Ovid’s poem in the light of certain passages from Pliny. Gesnerus also dealt with Pliny frequently in his *Historia plantarum* (Basel, 1541), his *De piscibus* (Zürich, 1556), and other works. Hence he is frequently cited as a source for the marginal glosses published in Pliny editions of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but he did not produce a real commentary.

t) Latimer, Gulielmus. Although the surviving notes appear to be a set of textual glosses rather than a commentary, there is a set of extracts of notes on Pliny by Latimer in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS. 8516–8517, fols. 180<sup>r</sup>–185<sup>r</sup>, with the title (fol. 180<sup>r</sup>): “Ex Gul[ielmi] Latimeri emendationibus in Plinium.” Roger Calcoen,

*Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, II(1971), 43 (item 222, no. 3; MS. 8516-17), lists it as a commentary. Nothing is known of the longer set of notes from which these materials were extracted. William Latimer (1460?-1545), educated at Oxford and at Padua, a friend of William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, Sir Thomas More, Richard Pace, and Erasmus, was tutor to the future Cardinal Reginald Pole and was renowned in his own time as a classical scholar. Except for some correspondence with Erasmus and for this excerpt from his notes on Pliny, none of his writings has been identified. Erasmus in fact criticized him for his unwillingness to publish his writings.

u) Leonicensus, Nicolaus. (Niccolò Leonicensi). Fabricius BL I, 503, 509; Schweiger II, 801. Leonicensus precipitated the most important controversy of the late fifteenth century concerning Pliny when he published (1492) *De Plinii et plurium aliorum medicorum in medicina erroribus*. Although sometimes so regarded because it does deal with many passages of Pliny, the work is not a commentary in form. On this work and the ensuing controversy see Introduction above, pp. 310-11.

v) Longolius, Christophorus (Christophe de Longueil). The commentator Nicolaus Beraldus in his own commentary (see above, p. 359) referred explicitly to an extensive commentary by Longolius which (together with the personal assistance of Longolius himself) he warmly acknowledged as his major source. The relevant passage from Beraldus is quoted above, pp. 359-60. Although Beraldus expressed the hope that Longolius' notes on Pliny would be published, the author's early death prevented publication. If Longolius' commentary survives in manuscript, no trace of it has been found. Fabricius, BL I, 505; Melchior Adam, *Vitae Germanorum* (Francofurti, 1615), I, 45-57, especially pp. 46-49; Conradus Gesnerus, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Tiguri, 1545), fol. 167<sup>r</sup>, and *Appendix Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (1555), fol. 23<sup>r</sup>; Iosias Simlerus, *Epi-*

*tome Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Tiguri, 1555), fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.

w) Lonicerus, Johannes (Johann Lonitzer, 1499-1569). His *De meteoris compendium, ex Aristotele, Plinio et Pontano* (Francofurti: Christianus Egenolphus, 1548) deals with Pliny but is not a commentary.

x) Maffei, Raphael, Volaterranus (Raffaele Maffei, da Volterra). The commentator Nicolaus Beraldus in 1516 mentioned a manuscript of Pliny with notes by Raphael Volaterranus which came to his attention during the printing of Book XXXIII of his own edition of Pliny, and which he used to emend the text from that point to the end. If the manuscript survives, it has not yet been identified. See the article on Nicolaus Beraldus, introductory section, and the quotation from Beraldus, above, p. 359 and p. 360.

y) Martius, Galeottus (Galeotto Marzio). His *Liber de homine* (1471), which dealt with passages from Pliny and from Martial, was the occasion for a critical treatise by the rival humanist Georgius Merula, to which Martius wrote a response, *Refutatio obiectorum in librum de homine* (1476). Though both of his works discussed the interpretation of sections of Pliny, they were not commentaries. On the controversy, see Introduction above, p. 310.

z) Merula, Georgius. His *In librum de homine Galeoti Narniensis* (1475) was a critical attack on the humanists Domitius Calderinus and Galeottus Martius. It dealt with the interpretation of Pliny but was not a commentary in form. For the controversy, see Introduction above, pp. 309-10. Schweiger II, 801; Fabricius, BL I, 503.

aa) Nebrissensis, Antonius (Antonio de Nebrija), *Annotationes in obscuriora Plinii*. Antonio, BHN I, 137; Fabricius, BL I, 509. This report may result from confusion about a work which Nebrija certainly did publish, his edition of Pomponius Mela, *Cosmographia* (Salamanca, 1498).

bb) Palmarius, Johannes Baptista. Though not himself a commentator, Palmarius is important in the textual history of Pliny because his edition of *Naturalis historia*

(Venice, 1497 [1498, modern style]) incorporated the emendations of the commentator Hermolaus Barbarus into the text, which was then frequently reprinted. For a discussion of his importance, see Introduction above, p. 309; cf. pp. 338, 342.

cc) Pinellus, Johannes Vincentius (Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli), *Commentatorum naturalis historiae Plinii nomina...*, in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS R 109 sup. Kristeller, *Iter* I, 311. This is not a commentary, but a sixteenth-century list of commentaries.

dd) Politianus, Angelus (Angelo Poliziano). Politianus did not produce a commentary, but his *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (first edition: Florentiae, 1489) contained several chapters which expounded passages from *Naturalis historia*, giving him a reputation for skill in Pliny scholarship which is reflected in the use of his works as a source for the marginal glosses of many later editions on Pliny. His own reader's notes on Pliny, written (but not in his own hand) into the margins of the 1473 Rome edition of *Naturalis historia*, now are found in MS. Auct. Q. 1.2. of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. For additional notes by Politianus, see now his recently discovered *Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda*, ed. V. Branca and M. Pastore Stocchi (Florence, 1972), IV, 30–38 (ch. 20).

ee) Ponticus Virunius, Ludovicus (Ludovico Pontico Virunio). His *Invectiva contra Pandulphum Collenutium pro Nicolao Leonicensi De Plinii et plurium medicorum in medicina erroribus* (Ferrara, 1509) is a contribution to the important controversy precipitated by Leonicensius' criticisms of Pliny. On the controversy, see Introduction above, p. 310.

ff) Rigaltius, Nicolaus. Harduinus, "Praefatio," in the edition of Pliny by A. J. Valpy (London, 1826), I, 14, 17–18, refers to a work by Rigaltius on *Naturalis historia* and claims that he incorporated into it passages from the unprinted commentary by Gulielmus Pellicerius (q.v., above, p. 395). Most or all of Rigaltius' notes dealt with Pliny's discussion of bees (XI, 11–71), but

Harduinus does not claim to have seen the notes himself.

gg) Rivius, Gualtherus Hermenius (Walther Hermann Ryff) has been identified as the editor, under the initials D. G. H. R. M. et M., of *In Caii Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae argutissimi scriptoris I. et II. capitula libri XXX commentarius*, and by signing his initials appears to have also claimed authorship of this commentary on chapters I and II of Book XXX (XXX, 1–14 in the modern numeration), which dealt with magic. In fact, these chapters have been excerpted from the commentary by Stephanus Aquaeus (q.v., above, p. 381), though presented in this edition without acknowledgment of Aquaeus' authorship. Rivius, a prolific medical popularizer, had a reputation as a plagiarist; and in this case, he put nothing of his own into the work except for dropping the lemmata which introduce each of the two chapters in Aquaeus' own edition, and making only one textual change of any consequence: at the beginning of Chapter II of Book XXX, where Aquaeus began with a passage denouncing magic for its danger to religion, Rivius suppressed nearly all of the passage, in order to eliminate the warning against magic. Cf. Aquaeus, ed. 1530, fol. CCCXXXIII<sup>v</sup> with Rivius, *In Caii Plinii...*, fol D2<sup>v</sup>. The same text, with the same verbal changes appeared in the three editions of works of Agrippa von Nettesheim listed above (see above, p. 382–83) as partial editions of Aquaeus' commentary. The text in these Agrippa editions has not been attributed to either Aquaeus or Rivius but to Johannes Trithemius of Sponheim, who is the author of two of the other texts on magic printed as part of the appendix to Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*. For a full discussion of this plagiarism and of the correct attribution of the text, see my forthcoming article, "The Author of a Renaissance Commentary on Pliny: Rivius, Trithemius, or Aquaeus?", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*.

hh) Romuleius, Paulus (Paolo Romuleo). His *Pro Georgio Merula adversus quendam*

*Cornelium Vitellium* (1482) was a defense of Merula against an attack by the Pliny commentator Cornelius Vitellius and like the rest of the controversial literature of which it is part, dealt with the interpretation of passages from *Naturalis historia*. It was not, however, a commentary in form. See Introduction above, p. 310.

ii) Ronsseus, Balduinus (Baudouin Ronss). His work *De magnis Hippocratis lienibus, Pliniique stomacace, ac sceletyrbe* [sic], seu vulgo dicto scorbuto, libellus (Antwerp, 1564), discusses sections of Pliny but is not a commentary.

jj) Scaliger, Josephus Justus. Fabricius, BL I, 510; Schweiger II, 802. His *Animadversiones in Melchioris Guilandini commentarium in tria C. Plinii de papyro capita libri XIII*, which were printed posthumously in Scaliger's *Opuscula varia*, ed. by Isaac Casaubonus (Paris, 1610; second edition, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1612), are not precisely a commentary on Pliny, but a commentary on a commentary on Pliny, though like the work which they criticize, that of Melchior Guilandinus (see above, p. 405), they deal with the interpretation of a section of Pliny (XIII, 68–89). Partly because of this work, but mainly because he discussed Pliny in his many works of classical scholarship, Scaliger became an important source of the marginal glosses to editions of Pliny, from the late sixteenth century to the early nineteenth century.

kk) Silvaticus, Matthaëus. His treatise *Opus pandectarum Matthei Silvatici . . . cum quotationibus auctoritatum Plinii, Galeni et aliorum auctorum* (Venice, 1499) contains no commentary but only supporting quotations from Pliny and other authorities. These quotations, which appear to have been added by a later hand (the early editions, from 1474 to 1499, claim no such apparatus of quotations), were reprinted in at least two of the subsequent editions, 1507 and 1511.

ll) Smensa, Petrus Pierius, Schotanus, Fabricius, BL I, 505, reports an unpublished commentary by this author, citing Suffridus

Petri, *De scriptoribus Frisiae*. I have found no other trace of this work.

mm) Stanhufius, Michael. *De meteoris libri duo . . . recitantur etiam passim . . . Plinii . . . iudicia et opiniones* (Wittenberg, 1562). I have not seen this work, but it and a later edition of 1578 are in the British Library. It seems not to be a commentary, but a treatise supporting its text with passages from Pliny.

nn) Stella, Erasmus (Erasmus Stüler). His work *De gemmis libellus unicus. Plinius Secundus de Gemmis . . .* (Strasbourg, 1530) is not a commentary on Pliny, but a treatise on gems followed by an edition of nearly all of Book XXXVII (1–203, stopping with “Hispaniam quaecunque ambitur mari”) of *Naturalis historia*. There is no commentary on this text or on any other part of Pliny.

oo) Trithemius, Johannes, Spanhemensis (Johannes Trithemius von Sponheim). Schweiger II, 802, attributes to Trithemius the commentary on *Naturalis historia* XXX, 1–14, which appears in at least two editions of Agrippa von Nettesheim, *De occulta philosophia* (ed. 1567 and ed. n.d. [1600?]), and in vol. I of Agrippa's *Opera* (Lugduni, n.d.) among a number of texts appended to *De occulta philosophia*. In reality, this text is a reprint of two chapters from the commentary by Stephanus Aquaeus, in the slightly altered form printed in 1548 by the plagiarist Gualtherus Hermenius Rivius. For the editions, see above, p. 382–83, the article on Aquaeus. For details of Rivius' plagiarism, see above, p. 419. Trithemius had no connection at all with this or any known Pliny commentary, though two of his other works are included in the magical materials appended to Agrippa's work.

pp) Vadianus, Joachim (Joachim von Watt). Fabricius, BL I, 509, and Schweiger II, 793, 803, treat the Pliny commentary of Georgius Collimitius (see above, p. 378) as if Vadianus were a co-author; but there is no evidence to support any contribution by Vadianus except that he wrote down (*excoepit*) the words of Collimitius. Schweiger II, 802, also lists Vadianus as a commentator on the basis of his notes on two

passages of Pliny (VII, 26, and VII, 74) in a letter of 1512 to Rudolphus Agricola Junior appended to his commentary on Pomponius Mela, *De orbis situ* (Basileae: Andreas Cratander, 1522), fols. Ff2<sup>r</sup>-Gg5<sup>v</sup>. But this passing reference to two short passages in a letter dealing with the interpretation of several classical authors hardly constitutes a commentary. There appears to be no connection between these two notes by Vadianus and the published commentary of Collimitius.

#### OTHER SOURCES OF GLOSSES

In addition to the real commentators and many of the preceding list of doubtful commentators, a number of Renaissance classical scholars have occasionally been incorrectly regarded as Pliny commentators because materials about Pliny in their works (not commentaries on Pliny) were often used as sources for marginal glosses to editions of Pliny, mainly in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several of the real commentators and several authors of works included in the preceding section on "Doubtful or Spurious Commentaries" were usual sources of glosses: among the latter list, Budaeus, Gesnerus, Longolius, and Politianus, and among the true commentators, Hermolaus Barbarus, Beatus Rhenanus, Nicolaus Beraldus, Jacobus Dalechampius, Franciscus Massarius, Jacobus Milichius, Ferdinandus Pintianus, Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus, and Adrianus Turnebus, though Turnebus was cited mainly for the remarks on Pliny scattered through his *Adversariorum libri*, not for his brief commentary on the Praefatio of *Naturalis historia*. The frequent citation of these commentators in the glosses is the source of much confusion about the editions of their commentaries, with editions being claimed when in fact the publications contained nothing but a few brief marginalia. The other scholars commonly used as sources for the glosses, listed in alphabetical order, include:

- 1) Britannicus, Johannes
- 2) Carrio, Ludovicus
- 3) Coelius Rhodiginus, Ludovicus

- 4) Cuiacius, Jacobus
- 5) Goroppius, Johannes
- 6) Gyraldus, Gregorius
- 7) Iunius, Adrianus
- 8) Leopardus, Paulus
- 9) Lipsius, Justus
- 10) Mitalerius, Claudius
- 11) Ortelius, Abrahamus
- 12) Parrhasius, Janus
- 13) Pinetus (or Pinaeus), Antonius
- 14) Rondeletius, Gulielmus
- 15) Sigonius, Carolus
- 16) Ursinus, Fulvius
- 17) Valerianus, Johannes Pierius
- 18) Virgilius, Polydorus

#### Works on NH, VII, 169

In addition to the above lists of commentators, near-commentators, and sources of textual glosses, many Renaissance humanists expounded one or more passages of Pliny's text in their writings. It would be impossible to compile a reliable and adequate list of such citations. Of special importance, however, because the group includes figures who have often been claimed as commentators, were those sixteenth century writers who wrote works discussing the theme of a famous passage from *Naturalis historia*, VII, 169: "atque etiam morbus est aliquantisper sapientiam mori." Fabricius, BL I, 510, lists all of the following; and while they are not really commentaries, his list has been largely responsible for the frequency with which they have been claimed as such. The authors involved, listed in alphabetical order, are:

- 1) Alciatus, Andreas. *Parerga* (Lugduni, 1539), II, 60.
- 2) Bisciola, Laelius. *Horae subsecivae* (2 vols.; Ingolstadii, 1611-1618), sect. XVIII, 12.
- 3) Cerda, Johannes, ed. and comm., Publius Vergilius Maro, *Priores sex (posteriores sex) libri Aeneidos, Bucolica et Georgica* (3 parts; Lugduni, 1612-1619), note to *Georg.* IV.
- 4) Fernandez, Eduardus. *Paraphrasis ad Plinii locum*: "Atque est aliquis morbus per sapientiam mori." Antonius, BHN II, 624;

Palau<sup>2</sup> V, 292: pseudonym for Johannes de Pineda (see below).

5) Luna Vega, Johannes de. I have found no confirmation of Fabricius' report.

6) Mercurialis, Hieronymus. *Variarum lectionum libri sex* (Parisiis, 1585).

7) Pineda, Johannes de. *De C. Plinii loco inter eruditos controverso ex libro VII, Cap. L: "Atque etiam morbus est aliquis per sapientiam mori"* (n.p., n.d.). Antonius, BHN I, 760-761; Palau<sup>2</sup> XIII, 251.

8) Ximenez Guillen, Franciscus. *Quid sit per sapientiam mori apud Plinium* (Hispani: Franciscus Perez, n.d.). Antonius, BHN I, 499-500.

#### SPURIOUS WORK

#### II. *Medicina Plinii*

The anonymous compilation by this title,

probably composed during the third century and drawn partly from the medical portions of *Naturalis historia*, was first cited by Marcellus Empiricus in the fifth century. It was known to some extent during the Middle Ages but does not seem to have become the subject of commentaries. There were several sixteenth-century editions, the first at Rome in 1509. Modern edition by Valentin Rose (Leipzig, 1875). See also Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, IV<sup>1</sup> (Munich, 1914), 201-203; Arturo Castiglioni, "Pseudo-Plinian Medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 20 (1946), 201-206; A. Önnersfors, *In medicinam Plinii studia philologica* (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift) (Lund, 1963); idem, "Die mittelalterlichen Fassungen der Medicina Plinii," *Berliner Medizin*, 16 (1965), 652-655.